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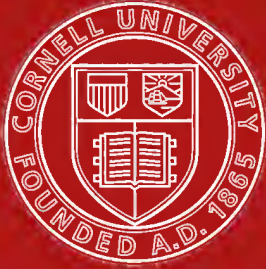
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THE BOOK OF ARRAN



THE BOOK OF ARRAN

VOLUME SECOND

BY

W. M. MACKENZIE

HISTORY AND FOLKLORE



THE ARRAN SOCIETY OF GLASGOW

HUGH HOPKINS: GLASGOW

MCMXIV

E.V.

PREFACE

THE present volume completes the enterprise undertaken by The Arran Society of Glasgow, the first volume of which, dealing with the Archæology of the island and edited by the late Mr. J. A. Balfour, was published in 1910. It is matter of regret that Mr. Balfour himself did not live to complete the work to which he had devoted so much energy and research. His early death was a distinct loss to Scottish historical study.

Mr. Balfour had already collected a considerable part of the material which has here been utilised. For the treatment of this, however, as well as for much additional material and for the whole plan and setting of the book, the present writer is wholly responsible. It also seemed good to him to depart from the method of the first volume, and make the work that of an individual pen, so as to secure the necessary continuity and sense of movement indispensable in history.

In this way, too, the overlapping and disproportion inevitable in separate contributions on particular subjects would be avoided. The general framework of the narrative is the study of the history of an island in an enclosed western sea. This establishes a point of view which is at once scientific and serviceable. Moreover, emphasis throughout has been laid upon the social or popular elements, and the great issues of the national history are introduced only in so far as they are explanatory of or relevant to local matter.

It is a history of Arran as a part of Scotland, not of Scotland with Arran as a magnified intrusion. Only on these lines can such a work become contributory or supplementary to national history.

In the performance of what was necessarily a responsible and heavy labour, the writer had every reason to appreciate the consideration and generosity of the Book Committee of the Arran Society. It was to him a pleasant association, all the more so from the sympathetic co-operation of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Charles Hamilton. To certain members his debt is personally great and more particular. It is fitting that acknowledgment should be made by all parties, and not least by the author, to the unflagging enthusiasm and care of Mr. William J. MacAlister. To Mr. Islay Kerr and Mr. Donald Currie personal obligations are also considerable. For assistance of a specially helpful character, and for some important contributions, the author gladly acknowledges the services of Mr. Alex. MacAlister of Kilpatrick and California. Without being invidious, he must refer to help and encouragement on the part of Mr. W. N. King, Mr. J. S. Bannatyne, Mr. And. Stewart, Mr. C. S. Douglas, and Mr. Donald M'Kelvie of Lamlash.

Equally with the Book Committee the writer is indebted for most valuable material to the Marquis of Graham through his representative Mr. George Laidler, Factor of Arran. The opportunity of consulting the MS. *Journal* or *Diary* of Mr. Burrel, furnished by the Estates Office, has given the present volume a distinctive note of value. It is proper to say that for the use made of that material, with its selection and transcription, the author alone is responsible.

The Committee are much indebted to Mr. R. L. Bremner for his contribution on Norse place-names.

To Mr. J. B. Sweet, Session Clerk of Kilbride, and to the Rev. A. W. Kennedy of Kilmorie, thanks are due for access to the Records of the respective parishes.

The Gaelic material, save in cases specifically mentioned, was prepared and translated by the late Mr. Duncan Reid, and was carefully revised in proof by Mr. Norman MacLeod of Glasgow, with the assistance of Mr. James Craig, Kilpatrick. Mr. Craig's services deserve special mention, in so far as he secured many contributions to the collection of Folk Lore and of Arran Gaelic verse. Independently of the poetic quality of the verse, these compositions, alike in their associations and in their interest as examples of the Arran variety of the language, deserve a place in such a record as this. The collection here given is the result of a timely effort at preservation: with the passing away of the older people much has been irretrievably lost.

The list of individual contributors of much or little, whether used or not, will be found at the end of the volume. If any one has been overlooked it is to be regretted and is apologised for.

More personally the author would thank Mr. William Melven of Glasgow Academy for the use of some printed material, and Mr. George Mackenzie for revising proofs. Mrs. John Mackay of the *Celtic Monthly* saved trouble by kindness in lending books for consultation. But under this head he is most indebted to the generosity with which Mr. Alexander Balfour placed at his disposal the volumes relating to the subject which had been collected by his son. This aid was most valuable.

Some of the illustrations have been kindly furnished by Dr. C. Fred. Pollock, of Glasgow.

It may be mentioned that every effort has been made to secure uniformity of spelling in names, and, as far as possible, to adopt for place-names the amended forms supplied in the first volume. At the same time any one familiar with historic records will realise the difficulties of such a course, which, indeed, is not in every case desirable. Reasonable limits to uniformity had therefore to be accepted.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

May 1914.

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CHAPTER I

EARLY ARRAN

The mythical Arran—'Emhain of the Apples'—Arran and the Féinne—the coming of the Scots—Dalriadic Arran—the Norsemen in Arran—rise of Somerled and the Gall-Gael—expansion of Scotia—close of Norse dominion—Hakon's fleet in Lamlash Bay—the Battle of Largs—tracks of the Norsemen.

I

It is the island of Arran that lifts the Firth of Clyde into grandeur. Southward on one side stretches the humble plateau of Kintyre, monotonous and featureless in its regularity, while on the other the withdrawing Ayrshire coast contributes neither impressiveness nor charm; they need familiarity and association, these bowed and shelterless uplands, to win the secret of their attraction. Bute and the Cumbraes borrow much of their effectiveness from what lies behind. But towering and clear-cut in mid-sea, Arran brings all into tune; the smoother, less aspiring lands become its proper foil, its setting; the sea chafes at the roots of its mountains and the clouds are caught on the shivered edges of its summits. It dominates the waterway; it gives character—a field upon which the eye may rest from every quarter. Even the southward half, of a surface tamer and more neighbour-like, if also more domestic, takes on something of the northern nobility, where in the low western light the transverse glens show like gashes to the very core. Yet is there nothing forbidding in the aspect of the mountain island; amid the tumble of the sea it holds out the comforting promise of solid earth and the security and

secretiveness of the hills; from the land the eye never wearies in following the sweep and rise and passing glooms and glances of its frank massiveness—a big, rough giant, but a kindly one. The grey of granite melts into the blotched browns of the moors; the murky green of volcanic rocks is relieved by the fresher hue of meadows and crops; the white houses cluster or spread like daisies; as the light fluctuates and crosses, a glory of dark purple merges into a solemnity of neutral colour. And when the west flames up softly from the fallen sun of summer, the island draws round it a glory of amethyst haze, to hold it yet a while dimly outshining the darkened sea and colourless land around.

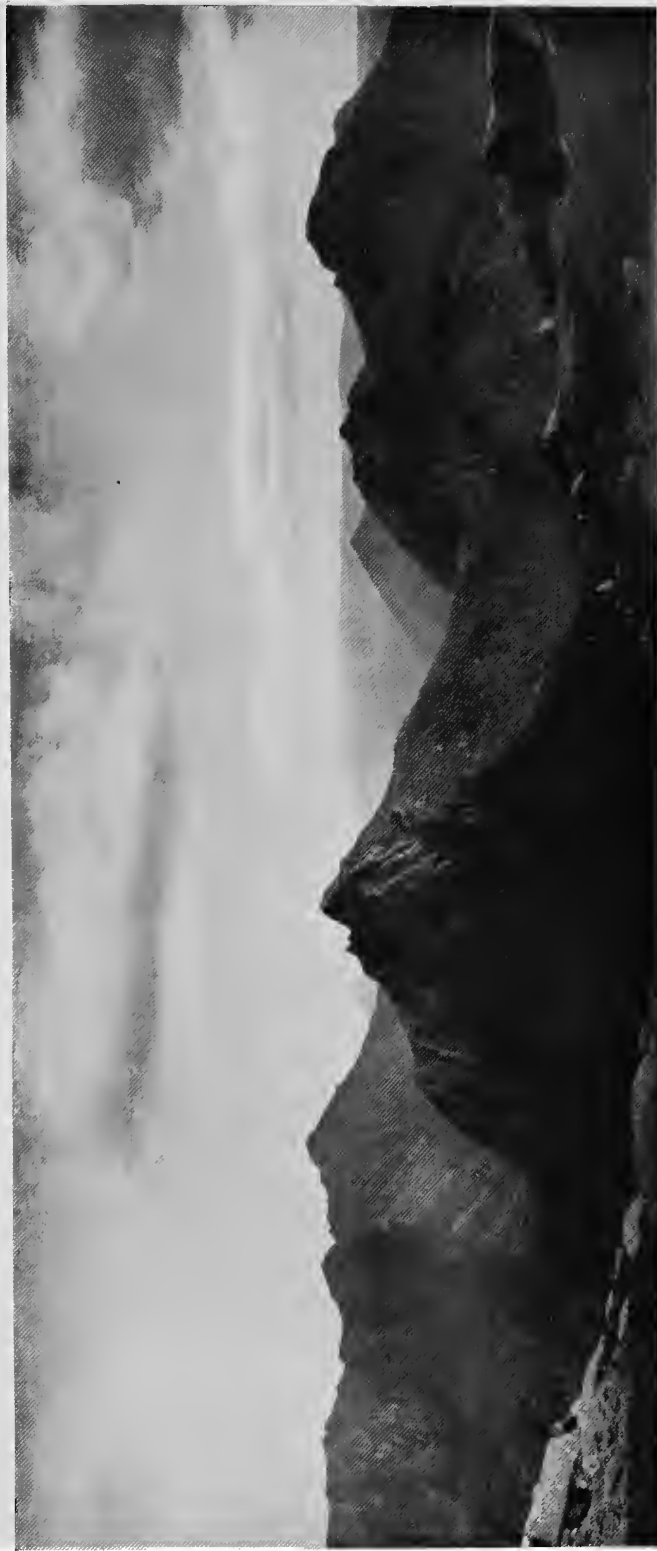
II

And it is in some such magic mist of poetry and myth that Arran appears on the dawn of history. Legends of gods and heroes lightly brush its shores, as the vapours of cloud flicker over its mountains. Like some other western isles it figures as the divine residence of Manannán MacLir, the youthful, roving son of Lêr (Lear), old god of the sea. Unlike the other vanquished divinities of early Ireland, Manannán makes his home in a distant island, in ‘Emhain of the Apples,’ *Emhain Abhlach*, where the apples are no passing fruit on an earthly tree, but the honey-tasted apples of the land of perpetual youth, the Celtic islands of the blessed. One identification of this insular paradise fixes it on Arran, and the anonymous poet who works the tale into his verses of the eleventh century makes a significant reference: ‘We will ask a harbour behind Arran, whilst searching the cold strands of Erin’—

Iarrfam (iarfain) cuan ar cul Arann

Ag(ac) sur traghann nfhuar n'eirionn (n Ereenn).¹

¹ Skene prints the whole poem, with Hennessey's translation, in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. pp. 410-27, from a MS. of 1600. It is anonymous of the close of the eleventh



ARRAN PEAKS.

[Photo by Dr. C. Fred. Pollock, Glasgow.]

The name Emhain or Eamhain may carry us to another legendary connection. One explanation of its meaning is that it is for Eomain, where 'Eo' is a breast-pin or brooch and 'Muin' signifies 'the neck.' Now Muin is represented in Welsh by Mynyw, and an island Mynyw is the original of *insula Minan*, which has a place in the history of Arthur. For the old historian Gildas is made to tell, in one version, how his restless brothers pestered King Arthur, particularly that excellent youth the eldest of them, and would often swoop down from Scotland to plunder his territories. A deadly descent by this ambitious young man brings Arthur in pursuit; there is a battle in the island of Minan, and the young rover is slain. This island has been identified with Man, but Arran, too, we see, was a home of Manannán, and it is in Scotland, whence Arthur's rebel came, while Man,¹ in a geographical sense, was not. Arran, therefore, may also put in a claim to be the island in question.

There are other solitary links between Arran and the early myths, deriving from that strange divinity which hedged outlying islands in the Celtic imagination. When the sea-god Lér, to his great sorrow, lost his wife, the King of the divine tribe of Danu, the *Tuatha De Danann*, gave him choice of his own three foster-daughters, whose mother was Ailioll of Arran. Of her no more is known, and the rest of the story, one of the 'three sorrowful tales' of Ireland, has its setting elsewhere. Though such matter, as we now have it, is late in a literary sense, the bearing of it, as embodying early

century (Miss Hull, *Text-Book of Irish Literature*, part i. p. 212). The identification with Arran is in a tract in the Yellow Book of Lecan, twelfth to fourteenth century (*Ibid.*, p. 213 note, and p. 21. Cf. also Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. p. 78 note 9).

¹ *Four Ancient Books*, i. 78 (n.). Gildas in *Cymmrodorion Record Series*, p. 402. But the Arthur connection in Gildas is there a very late intrusion borrowed for the sixth century writer from the eleventh century Geoffrey of Monmouth, the begetter of the Arthur historic legend. It only adds to the fabulous Arran, even if the identification holds good. Cf. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, p. 114 note, for a discussion of Gildas and his various biographies.

associations, is this, that in the primitive time of Irish legend Arran was a remote and unfamiliar island, far enough removed from ordinary circumstances, so far as that country was concerned, to be a haunt and harbourage of lorn divinities.

With the earlier mass of Irish mythological story Scotland has little or nothing to do, though by the close of such literary activity the west coast and islands are creeping into notice. The Gael there was still a stranger in a strange land. But by the time the great final saga of Finn and the Féinne is taking its monstrous and alluring shape the gulf has been bridged, and Scotland as much as or even more than Ireland is the stage of its heroic action. And in the last scene of all Arran looms up grandly as a place of splendid memories. The battle of Gabhra has completed the destruction of the Féinne: their leader was already dead. Only Ossian and Caeilte of the original band, with eight followers for each, survive to go their different ways, broken in heart and spirit. Then the centuries are rushed over, and Caeilte with his company is brought to meet St. Patrick and his monks, who marvel at the sight of the big men and their huge wolf-dogs; men so tall that, when they sit down, the mere mortals reach but to their waist or shoulder. But they are magnanimous giants, of 'manners gentle-kind,' and ready to unfold to the inquiring saint the tale of their heroic past. So when Patrick asked Caeilte 'what was the best hunting that the Fianna ever had, whether in Ireland or in Scotland?' the answer came prompt and short, 'The hunting of Arran.' 'Where is that land?' asked Patrick. 'Betwixt Scotland and Pictland,' Caeilte replied; 'on the first day of the *trogan* month,¹ we, to the number of the Fianna's three battalions, practised to repair thither and there have our fill of hunting until such time as, from the tree-tops, the cuckoo would call

¹ 'Which is now called *lughnesadh*, i.e. Lammas-tide'; or *Lunasdae*, *Lunadainn*, Aug. 1-12, early Irish *lugnüsad*, 'festival of Lug,' the Celtic sun-god (Macbain's *Dictionary*; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 410).

in Ireland. More melodious than all music whatsoever it was to give ear to the voices of the birds as they rose from the billows and from the island's coast-line ; thrice fifty separate flocks there were that encircled her, and they clad in gay brilliance of all colours, as blue and green and azure and yellow.' And under stress of that happy memory, Caeilte bursts forth in a lyric of glorious praise :

Arran of the many stags—the sea impinges on her very shoulders ! an island in which whole companies were fed—and with ridges among which blue spears are reddened ! Skittish deer are on her pinnacles, soft blackberries on her waving heather ; cool water there is in her rivers, and mast upon her russet oaks ! Greyhounds there were in her, and beagles ; blaeberries and sloes of the dark blackthorn ; dwellings with their backs set close against her woods, and the deer fed scattered by her oaken thickets ! A crimson crop grew on her rocks, in all her glades a faultless grass ; over her crags affording friendly refuge leaping went on and fawns were skipping ! Smooth were her level spots—her wild swine, they were fat ; cheerful her fields (this is a tale that may be credited), her nuts hung on her forest-hazels' boughs, and there was sailing of long galleys past her ! Right pleasant their condition all when the fair weather sets in : under her rivers' brinks trouts lie ; the sea-gulls wheeling round her grand cliff answer one the other—at every fitting time delectable is Arran !¹

We have passed from the strange, vague Arran of the old gods to an island substantial and homely, with its woods and wild fruits, its sport in deer and wild swine and trout, its galleys for the sea, and the little houses of its hunting folk on the skirts of the forest. Thus in the older Irish songs Arran gets frequent reference as an ideal hunting-ground for the sporting Gael.²

¹ *Silva Gadelica*, ii. pp. 108-9 : 'The Colloquy of the Elders.'

² 'More healthy are the hunting songs. Many of these are in praise of the Isle of Arran, in the Clyde, a favourite resort during the sporting-season both for the Scottish and Irish huntsman' (Miss Hull, *The Poem Book of the Gael*, p. xxiii).

III

Islands have a type of history of their own, depending on their size, nature, and position with respect to large areas. Arran is a comparatively large island in an enclosed sea, but not large enough to be an independent centre of population or culture. It must borrow both people and civilisation from its neighbourhood, from which again it will be the first stage in expansion. Overflow from either side, from Scotland or from Ireland, in the earlier times, will have its first halting-place on the nearest islands or intervening peninsulas. In such a place as Arran these overflows will thus meet and probably commingle, as they did; to which must be added a possible stream by the highway of the sea, which will have the same destiny, as occurred twice in Arran's history. Thus we may be prepared for Arran as a mixing-pot of peoples and cultures, which in fact it was. The island, from this point of view, being small, there being no room to maintain quarrel nor natural riches sufficient to perpetuate social distinctions, the sharp geographical definition and the climatic conditions will work towards the formation of a uniform type. The geographic control surpasses the others, wears down differences, compacts the peoples; however complex the racial or cultural ingredients, the island mould, in the long run, turns them out one whole. Which of the many influences will ultimately colour the mass depends again upon the geographical conditions. And though in latitude Arran belongs to southern Scotland, it is much farther from the mainland than from the peninsula of Kintyre—three miles from the nearest point of the latter and over nine at least from the coast of Ayrshire; while Kintyre in its turn came to be, historically, but a long stepping-stone from Ireland. For a trading people, too, making islands halting-places and coasting for short, sheltered, voyages in fair weather, Arran is markedly convenient on the Clyde route leading to the heart of central Scotland. In historic

times the trade of western Scotland was mainly with Ireland ; for the Irish merchants in prehistoric times the crossing was to the near Galloway peninsula, later by Kintyre and the open arms of the enclosed sea. It is the former traverse, with Arran looming mistily in the distance, that is reflected in the earliest mythological references to the island ; the latter in the familiarity and precision of the Féinne.

Arran, in fact, does not form part of the Lowland system ; it is an outlier of the Highlands in character and relationships. Essentially it is a border land, and only the more artificial political scheme brings it within the Lowland control. The case is clear even in prehistoric times, if the argument developed in the first volume holds good, as, so far, the converging lines of evidence certainly suggest. The builders of the chambered barrows or cairns came from the west, either as a direct settlement up the Irish Channel from the continent, or, as is perhaps more probable from what we know of later emigrations, as an offshoot from Ireland. The chambered burial is distinctively western. The later wave of culture, leaving a debris of short flagged graves or cists, of bronze implements and jet ornaments, moves hither from the east and loses force as it does so. There is a mixing of customs ; indeed there is mixing at both stages : direct burial and burial after burning are common to both. Apparently the grades of development are not very far apart. Extreme examples of skulls show those of the chambers to be high and narrow (dolicocephalic), those of the cists broader (brachycephalic) and more coarsely featured. Both stocks are classed as brunette, and there was no great difference in height ; about five feet six inches at most for a male of the long-headed type, perhaps a little more for the other. In neither group do the cheek-bones project much, and the dominant type in the west is held to be still dolicocephalic.¹

¹ See vol. i., chapter on 'The Sepulchral Remains,' p. 33, by Professor T. H. Bryce ; also article by the same 'On Certain Points in Scottish Ethnology' in *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, vol. ii.

About the end of the seventeenth century Martin remarks as follows : ' The inhabitants of this isle (Arran) are well proportioned, generally brown, and some of a black complexion.' ¹ By that time, of course, other streams had passed into the current, but isolated and sharply defined centres are conservative of the stock, the very conditions operating towards uniformity.

If the song the Sirens sang be considered ' not beyond conjecture,' then it may be permitted to give a name to, at least, the dominating people in Arran of the first century A.D., when Agricola sailed the pioneer Roman ship across the Firth of Clyde and mastered the hitherto unknown tribes on its coasts. Roman knowledge, of this time, appears on the map of the Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy, who flourished in the first half of the second century. In this map the Mull of Kintyre is ' the Epidion Height,' for which the equivalent in ancient Irish literature is ' Ard Echdi,' where *ep* and *ech* are the corresponding phonetic fragments for ' horse ' in kindred but separate Celtic languages. The peninsula is the land of the Epidii in Ptolemy ; and the Irish place is precisely stated to be ' in Kintyre ' (*i Cinn Tire*, ' the head of the land '). The non-Gaelic *p* shows that we are dealing with the Pictish people and their more Welsh-like form of Celtic, and if the Picts were thus settled in the nearer mainland it is fair to assume that they had also established themselves in Arran, as, from Adamnan, we know they had done in Skye. But if so, it does not yet appear that they have left even a name to report their presence. What older place-names in Arran are not Gaelic are Norse. Ptolemy's map gives Scotland a curious twist to the right, and the southern islands are thus dislodged from their proper positions. But *Malaesus* is clearly Mull, Adamnan's *Malea* ; east of it is placed *Monaoeda*, usually accepted to be Man, but Skene, taking the reading *Monarina*,

¹ Martin's *Western Islands* (c. 1695), p. 224.

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plausibly identifies it with Arran, thus raising again the rival identifications of the Arthurian story.¹

But the stirring up of the peoples of Caledonia and Hibernia by the Roman assault upon their liberties, or the ever present danger of such, roused in these peoples themselves a temper of counter aggression. Hibernia, or Ireland, indeed, was already a busy haunt of oversea trade, which probably suffered from Roman intrusion, and which had its links with Caledonia; a fugitive Irish king of the first century finds a refuge on some part of the Clyde coast. During the fourth century the combination of Picts and Scots in attacks upon the Roman province is frequent and almost overwhelming. Such intimate co-operation always suggests a previous degree of familiar communication in more peaceful commercial channels. But 'the flag follows trade' is the older and truer note, while union against a mutual enemy is an additional attraction, so that as early as some time between the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, we hear of the first actual settlement of Scots in what is now Galloway, also in Argyll and 'others of the isles.'² Almost certainly this meant settlements along the western side of the Clyde basin including Arran, so accessible to any colonists by sea from the south-west; the leader was Reuda or Riada,³ and the persistence of the name Dalriada, 'the portion of Riada,' is additional evidence. The Dalriada of later history is roughly Argyllshire, but that comes from the time when the loose Scottish settlements were consolidated into a kingdom in the district where the Scots were most

¹ 'Ptolemy's Geography of Scotland,' Macbain in *Etymology of Gaelic National Names*, p. 35; Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i. p. 69. Skene's reading of the name is not the better.

² *Scalacronica*, the fourteenth century work of a Northumbrian knight, drawing upon early Scottish chronicles.

³ Bede, i. chap. i. Cairbre Riada's date is perhaps disputable within half a century. The best discussion of these early settlements is in the *Innes Essay*, pp. 346-50. Cf. also Macbain's edition of *Skene's Highlanders*, p. 385.

numerous and best placed. This was the work of Fergus MacErc about the beginning of the sixth century (503 A.D.), and of this new kingdom on the western flank of Pictland, Arran was undoubtedly an outlying part. 'Lamlash' shows that when the Norse came they found a Gaelic-speaking people in possession.¹

The history of the Dalriadic kingdom, during the three centuries and a half of its independent existence,² sums itself up in three general lines of activity—resistance to Pictish invasion, alternating with attacks upon that people by way of southern Perthshire, that became more serious and penetrating as their domestic quarrels became more decisive and bitter; expansion on the seaboard northwards, which up to Lochbroom became Argyll, *Oirir-Gaidheal*, 'the coast-land of the Gael,' so that to the Norse the Minch was 'Scotland Firth'; and a contention, similar to that among the Picts, between two stocks of the descendants of Fergus for the ruling power. In this dynastic rivalry Arran, it may be taken, would stand with the Cinel Gabhran,³ the elder branch, which had the Clyde portion of Dalriada, as against the Cinel Lorn, from a younger son in the north. And it is to this period, when the Gael was making good his footing on the west as well as fighting out his internal politics, that we may allot the several forts on the Arran coast; the coast of Kintyre up to the nearest approach opposite Dougarie (Dubhgharadh) and the whole outer coast round Dalriada are studded with these forts, as also are Bute and the seaboard. Arran, in fact, is on the line of a frontier; across the water were now the Britons of Strathclyde; Arran was of the Gaelic kingdom. The British or Cymric occupation came as near as the Cumraes but apparently no farther.

¹ See p. 69.

² This in refusal of Skene's analysis, adopted in current Scottish histories, but unsatisfactory.

³ *Cinel* or *Cineal*, 'offspring, clan.' Gabhran and Lorn are two of the sons of Fergus.

Finally the pressure of the Dalriadic Scots on the west, expanding eastwards as they had expanded north, combined with cruel blows on the divided Pictish kingdom by a new overseas enemy on the eastern flank, ended in the conquest of Pictland by the Dalriadic Kenneth MacAlpin in 843-4 A.D. and the appearance of a united kingdom of Picts and Scots, which was to take the name of Alba, and out of which was to unfold the historic kingdom of Scotland.

IV

This new enemy, which had struck the Picts at a most unfavourable moment, was a northern people, the Danes, who, for some time, had been making buccaneering visits round the coast and had even found their way up the Irish Sea, with disastrous results to the richer monasteries of the Celtic Church on the islands. In the western isles of Scotland, however, it is mainly their neighbours of Norway, akin in race and speech, who play the same part. Later a distinction appears between *Finn-gall*, 'white-strangers,' or Norse, and *Dubh-gall* or 'black-strangers,' the Danes; on what grounds of difference we do not know. But so far as western Scotland is concerned it is really the Norse who matter, and finally it is so even in Ireland. They were the readier to pass from plunder to settlement; even the western isles had attractions for them, when compared with their own bleaker homes in the north. At first, too, the roving bands may have been ready to come to terms; they were not invincible, and both in Ireland and England suffered many rebuffs; we are told that Kenneth MacAlpin had Norse aid in his campaigns upon Pictland, and the name of Gofraith MacFergus as a king in the isles about 852 even indicates a mixing of the peoples, for the name is part Norse and part Gaelic. Out of such mixing came the western folk of the coast who were known as Gall-Gael.

Probably Arran was untouched by the earliest raids of the beginning of the ninth century, in which a notoriously rich centre like Iona suffered a plundering on three occasions in less than a quarter of a century. These men knew what they were about, and they no doubt knew that the cave-cell of St. Molaise in Holy Isle, the chief place of the kind in Arran, held nothing worth taking. Had there been any desecration at that place the monkish annalists would certainly have left it on record. But by the middle of the ninth century expeditions growing in size and number became systematised into deliberate conquest and occupation. Norse and Danes are together in the work, which goes on simultaneously in England, Ireland, and Scotland. The outstanding figure in these operations is Ivar the Boneless, who, as the Sagas say, 'had no bones in his body but was very wise,' a Dane, with whom we find associated Olaf the White, a Norse king of Dublin. It is Olaf who takes the initiative, though he is presently associated with the actively touring Ivar in raids upon Alba from the base in Ireland; and the route of these is up the natural highway of the firth and river of Clyde. In 870 the two conduct a four months' siege in getting rid of the obstacle of Alcluyd, the fortified rock of Dumbarton. These raids with their tale of slaughter, of plunder, of the bearing away of men and women to be sold as slaves—these successive strokes of the raven beak deep into the bleeding side of Alba—continue well into the first quarter of the tenth century.

Now of all this Arran must have had passing witness and probably a share. It may be the Norseman had found his way to the island earlier, though the rude and barren shelter of a hermit in Holy Isle had not the attractions of Rathlin or Iona. The grave-mound at Lamlash yielded remains of apparently the early ninth century:¹ the first sacking of Iona was in 802. Possibly before the great fleets

¹ Vol. i. p. 171.

of Olaf and Ivar swept grandly by its shore or sheltered in its bays, some poring 'red birds of the sea,' lifting strange striped sails amid the sea haze, their gunwales dotted in line with the 'war-targets' of black and gold, disgorged upon the shore and up the glens their companies of thirty or forty tall fair vikings, with mighty weapons, to carry off a saleable prey of household gear or helpless folk; and even if once beaten off they would come again. Some such visit may have left its grim record in the grave-mound. But we get something even more definite in the boat-shaped burial at King's Cross, under the very wall of what may have been a stormed and captured fort. The coin so luckily found is a humble piece of silver and much alloy, a *stycas*, minted by an Archbishop of York, whose date is 837-54.¹

Coins, of course, remain in circulation long after they are struck, especially in early times. Now in November 867 Ivar's conquering army in England is at York, and next year is overrunning Northumbria. One or two years later, as we have seen—the date is not quite certain—he is with a host at Dumbarton. In the little coin at King's Cross we seem to have a link connecting these enterprises. Perhaps some captain of a local foray, or some Arran victim of the siege from among its Norse settlers, has been brought to his becoming resting-place on the low windy headland. At any rate the capable soldiers of the sea, who would not have Dumbarton to threaten their communications, were not likely to neglect so useful a base as Arran or omit the opportunity of its occupation. And so with certainty we may predicate that in the last quarter of the ninth century at least the island had received its Norse masters. It was the high noon of Viking expansion: the western isles were theirs, they were ringing Ireland with their fleets, were submerging England, and were finding a footing, across the Irish sea, in Galloway, adown the English coast and in Wales.

¹ Vol. i. p. 168.

Masters in Arran they no doubt were, with a subject native population to labour and fetch and carry for them in their boisterous halls, as we may infer from the masterful method in which their names stand out upon the island. A well-fixed earlier name they borrow and adapt, as they do with Arran, 'the lofty or mountainous,'¹ of which they make *Herrey* or *Hersey*, and in reducing *Eilean Molaisi*, 'the island of Molaise,' to *Melansay*, where the final sound, in both cases, represents the Norse word for an island. Otherwise the outstanding features of the island are conspicuously Norse, while there is an absence of the humbler domestic names, which are as predominantly Gaelic. Even allowing for a later re-naming, in contrast with the condition of things in Lewis where all grades are represented, where township names in *bost* and *stead* abound, and the Norse names are four to one, whereas in Arran they are but one in eight, and no bosts or steads—we may infer a smaller Norse element in the population, and that element as dominant over the rest. Thus from the Norse we have Brodick and Goat Fell and Sannox and Ranza, and glens as 'dales' from the same source, with Pladda and 'the Cleats' and Markland² and Pennyland and Feorlines or farthing-lands. The glens were no doubt the homes of the Celtic population, as they mainly were till late in history, and such names as Ormidale and Chalmadale probably retain the memory of the Orm and Hjalmund who took over these and their occupants as the perquisites of conquest. Homely enough the Norse names are, from natural features or plants or animals, and Brodick and Loch Ranza are harbours.³ For they were not all warriors, the Vikings; they had their farms, and they turned instinctively to trade. They were essentially a business people, not more turbulent or cruel than their Christian pre-

¹ This seems the most probable explanation. For several others see Currie's *Place-Names of Arran*.

² 'Markland' = 'boundary-land,' N. *mörk*, march.

³ On the Norse names see Mr. Bremner's Appendix, D.

decessors,¹ only taking advantage of their fellows by violence where the civilised method is to do so by one's wits. They had a wonderful facility in adapting themselves to circumstances; island settlements might preserve their buccaneering instincts, but in England they rooted in the soil, in Ireland they were a people of towns. As they spun their web of commerce across the Irish Sea, so they may have done across the Firth of Clyde, and to this and their trading settlements we may attribute the sprinkling of Norse names adown its western shore from Cowal to Galloway, where again there was a definite Norse community. And in Arran, too, was the plentiful hunting which the Vikings loved as much as the Féinne had done.

Once established in the western isles and along the west coast, Norse dominion began to modify under the local conditions. In the outer isles the population was more distinctively of this stock, and the Hebrides were long known generally as *Innse-Gall*, 'the islands of the foreigners.' Argyll became *Dalir*, 'the dales,' and Kintyre in this connection was counted one of the islands—for Tarbert is but a 'portage' or land-ferry—but keeps its older name as *Satiri*, *Sal-tire*, 'land's end or heel.' Arran, as we have seen, is partly translated into Herrey or Hersey. In this inward strip of territory we have a mixed population known as *Gall-Gaidheal* or 'stranger-Gaels.' Such hybrid populations are apt to be troublesome and unsure, and it is the Gall-Gael of Argyll and its islands who were to make the deepest rift in the western sea-empire of the Norse. Moreover, the territory of islands was a lengthy one, like scattered beads on a cord, and Norway, a single kingdom since the last quarter of the ninth century, was within easy distance of only one end. Centres of independent influence were bound

¹ The nominally Christian kings of Ireland robbed monasteries before them and fought fiercely among themselves; and there were local pirates in the Hebrides, as Adamnan in his *Life of Columba* lets us know.

to arise, and it happened that these took form at the extremities of the cord, the Orkneys and the Isle of Man, while the supremacy of Norway waned or waxed with circumstances. Strong local rulers might neglect it; masterful kings of Norway like Harold Fairhair in the end of the ninth century, Magnus in the end of the eleventh, and, finally, Hakon in the second half of the thirteenth, would find it necessary to reimpose subjection with an over-cruel hand. The first visit of Magnus 'west-over-the-sea' in 1193 was a sore smiting to the isles, repeating on a large scale the worst features of a successful Viking raid, so that the northern peoples fled before him, into Scotland, to Ireland, and to Kintyre. But the 'valiant king' followed after, and if 'the men's children of the nation of Satiri (Kintyre) sunk under the edges' of his swords, it would be strange if next-door Arran escaped a visit.¹

Apart from this, the normal condition was for the rule of the isles to swing between the powerful influence of the Kingdom of Man and that of the Earldom of Orkney. On the whole, the expression 'Man and the Isles' or 'Man and the Sudereys—where the Sudereys (Suder-eyar) are the 'southern isles' or Hebrides, in contrast to the Nordereys (Norder-eyar) or Orkney and Shetland—which survives in the bishopric of 'Sodor and Man,' suggests that the grip of the chief southern island was the more sustained, less accessible as it was from Norway and enriched by the trade of the Irish Sea. Orkney virtually goes out after the ravaging conquests of its great Earl Thorfinn all along the western border, and his death in 1064. Already, however, following on the Norse disaster at Clontarf in Ireland in 1064, the rifts had begun to show first where the cord of empire was weakest, in the mainland and islands midway from the two powerful extremities; the mainland of the Gall-Gael, where the Gaelic element of old Dalriada would still be strongest, and the

¹ 'Magnus Saga' in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 347-48.

islands in immediate contact. Into this category, from its position, Arran would fall. In the following century, a distinct breach opens in the Kingdom of Man and the Isles, and a new centre of power discloses itself within the Dalriadic bounds. There are indications, however, of an Argyll kingdom even in the same eleventh century.

The origin of the great Somerled, ancestor of the MacDonald Lords of the Isles, is clouded with later legend. But his very name suggests a Norse strain: it is *Sumar-lidhi*, 'summer-slider,' that is, 'summer-mariner' or Viking,¹ a business, however, which had now fallen into disrepute. Buccaneership was no longer good form for mere individuals; it was a memory of a pagan past; it had become a name. Western Vikings were regarded as pirates simply, no longer as gentlemen adventurers gallantly gathering where they had not strayed. Somerled was an Argyll man, and the names of his sons still further suggest the mixed Gall-Gael race: Dugall the eldest is 'the Dane,' so that even a racial description has become merely personal; the races are being mixed into a new stock. Ragnvaldr or Reginald, later Ranald, 'gods' ruler,' is also Norse, but another son has a Celtic name Angus; he perished in a family difference. Somerled himself married a daughter of Olaf Bitling ('the little'), king of Man and the Isles, but from Olaf's son and successor, Godred the Black, he wrenched the mainland territories of Dalir or Argyll and the adjacent islands. Godred had made himself an unpopular ruler, and an insurrection was constitutionally engineered, in which Somerled's son, Dugall, was put forward against his uncle. The issue between these island and coast magnates was, of course, fought

¹ In Gaelic *Somhairle*, which in Ireland became Sorley and sometimes is Englished as Samuel. 'On the whole, Somerled may be regarded as a Gael ruling independently over the mixed Norse and Gael of Argyleshire.' This is Dr. Macbain's view in his edition of *Skene's Highlanders*, p. 400. He rests on the Gaelic names of Somerled's immediate ancestors and a Gaelic pedigree. Gaels might as well borrow a Norse name as the Norse did a Frank or Latin one in 'Magnus.'

out at sea early in the January of 1156, and the galleys of Somerled took the victory. Arran no doubt had a share in Somerled's fleet, for in 1154 we find an Irish king sending to hire, against a rival, ships from Arran (first in the list), Kintyre, Man, and the coasts of Alba¹: Arran still preserved its Norse seafaring character, and this would embroil it in further western activities. But another family connection brought the scheming Somerled into conflict with Malcolm iv., king of the enlarging Scotia, and he fell mysteriously in an invasion by the Clyde at Renfrew in 1164.² His eldest son Dugall had the Argyll possessions with some of the islands, Reginald took Islay and Kintyre, and Angus Bute, while the two latter seem to have quarrelled over Arran, which might be grouped with either Kintyre or Bute, and in the quarrel Angus and his sons are wiped out.³ Thereafter both Dugall and Reginald figure as Kings of the Isles, where 'King' signifies only a leading power, and through the whole of the next century, despite Norway on the one side and Scotia on the other, the race of Somerled holds its own in its western nook. At the time when 'King' Reginald flourished, another Reginald was King of Man and the north islands beyond Mull, which were retained to that kingdom; and it is to this part of the eleventh century that the poem *Sith Eamhna*, already cited, seems to refer, implying also a supremacy of the Reginald of Man, which he is invited to make good. Arran is its main subject, tricked out in the language of mythology, so that, as between the two Reginalds, the island was evidently a bone of contention:

A hillock like it in comparison,
Find ye it on the surface of the earth.
Tulchan mar e (he) ne aghaidh
Faghaigh e (he) ar drumchlar domhain.

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters.*

² 'He was slain by his page, who took his head to the King': 'Book of Clanranald' in *Reliquiæ Celticae*, ii. pp. 154-5.

³ Gregory's *Western Highlands*, p. 17.

But a greater power than either Man or Norway was rising on the east, like a sun, in the ambitious kingdom of Scotia, as Alba of old had now come to be styled. Planted broadly in the north country, it was the most considerable as well as a well-established political unit, while around it lay a group of smaller or detached and conflicting states. Expansion meant the successive absorption of these. In the wonderful year of 1018 Lothian fell to the Scottish arms and Strathclyde to Scottish diplomacy. Possibly the Malcolm II. who was thus extending his dominion was at the same period sending feelers into the west, for in a poem of the century he is referred to as ‘ Danger of Britons, extinction of Galls (“foreigners,” *i.e.* the Norse of the western isles), Mariner of Islay and Arran.’

*Biodbha Bretan, badhudh Gall,
Loingseach Ile ocus Arann.*¹

But the mainland territories demanded first attention, and during subsequent reigns we see Galloway, too, bent to the Scottish rule; the new Norman lords who had found welcome and lands in the northern counties had become the cutting edge and the maintainers of the royal power, and added mightily to its military strength; while William the Lion imposed control on the old Norse territories of the north to the shore of the Pentland Firth. William’s successor, Alexander II. (1214-1247), completed the work, and then turned to round it off by asserting his authority over Argyll and the mainland holdings of the family of Somerled. These, too, received for their superior the King of Scots.

The way was now clear for advance upon the islands. Naturally, the enclosed Clyde islands were the more open to acquisition, and Bute and Arran seem to have been tossed to and fro for some time between contending masters. Alexander the High Steward appears early to have asserted

¹ Skene’s *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots* (‘The Prophecy of St. Berchan’), p. 99.

a claim to Bute, and probably to Arran as well, in virtue of a marriage with the heiress of the slaughtered Angus (1210).¹ The intruding Rudri, son of Reginald, was thus expelled. Trouble of this sort implied a good deal: it is clear the Scots had fixed their grasp upon the islands. Hakon had reason to be annoyed. His western empire was crumbling away. 'The Kings of the Southern Isles, those who were come of Sumarled's stock, were very unfaithful to King Hakon.'² It was one of these, Ospak, a son of Dugall, having chosen or been forced to choose Norway as his home rather than Scotland, who was in 1230 dispatched with a fleet to bring his brothers to their senses and restore the shaken dominion of Norway. There was little resistance among the isles, and Ospak's fleet had grown to eighty ships when it rounded the Mull of Kintyre and swept up to invest Bute, where the Scots 'sat in castles' and the stone fortress at the Burg (Rothesay) took three days of hard fighting to capture. Many inroads upon Kintyre suggest that the Scots had established themselves there also, but nothing is said of Arran, probably not, so far, definitely occupied. Ospak died of sickness, and after wintering at Man the host again raided Kintyre, losing many men, and so fared north to receive the thanks of Hakon for their exploits. Presently Alexander was trying to strike a bargain with Hakon over the islands, offering money, but Hakon stiffly refused all such offers. Then Alexander collected a fleet to take what could not be bought, but died on its progress in Oban Bay (1249), which brought the expedition summarily to an end.

The task was thus bequeathed to his son, the third Alexander, who made no secret of his intention to carry it through, and so roused and alarmed Hakon to an effort which was to be final in a fashion not by him intended (1263). All Norway was levied for men, and, for the last time, a host, noble both in size and equipment, took the road west-over-

¹ Gregory, p. 19.

² *Saga of Hakon Hakonsson*.

sea, having by the time it reached Kintyre more than a hundred men and twenty ships, 'most of them great.' King Magnus of Man had joined, and the Somerled chiefs too were with Hakon, Angus of Islay and King Dugall, descendants of Reginald, as well as a vicious Rudri, who 'was thought to have a claim by birth to Bute,'¹ and Margad (Murchard); all the western knights except 'King' Ewen of Argyll, head of the Clan Dugall, who would not break faith with the King of Scots and rather would surrender the islands he held of the Norwegian king, just as he had once refused Alexander II. to revolt against Hakon. There was cruel plundering and slaughter in Kintyre; the barbarous Rudri even slew men of the Bute garrison who had surrendered on terms. But the king brought his fleet round the Mull and so up to Arran, where he anchored in Lamlash Bay. Never had the stolid mass of Holy Isle looked down on so imposing and resplendent a sight as the ships that now clustered like seabirds in its shelter; among which the king's ship was conspicuous in size, for it had thirty-seven benches for rowers, and on its prow a dragon's head plated with gold, while round its sides and the sides of all the galleys, great and small, shone 'shields bright as suns,' golden and black and red, above which the rich striped sails and raven banners hung in the wind. Here began the parleying with messengers from the King of Scots, who was willing to compound for the possession of Arran, Bute, and the Cumbræes; but Hakon would have all the islands. The fleet moved up to the Cumbræes, and negotiations dragged on. It became apparent that Alexander was spinning out the time; it was late in September, and storms might be expected; so the truce was brought to an end, and a flying squadron went up

¹ Not, as it is usually taken, the expelled Ruari, who would have been much too old; perhaps his son, but the Saga writer seems to be sceptical. He says the Scots would not give him the island, and outlawed him for violence. This and what follows from the *Saga of Hakon* in *Rolls Series*, vol. iv.

Loch Long to harry and burn in the Lennox country across Loch Lomond. Then, while the main fleet lay at the Cumbræes, on the night of Monday, October 1 (1263), the tempest did come. By morning ships were dragging their anchors and four had stranded at Largs, including a merchant bark. Watchful Scots fell on their crews, but, as the wind slackened, Hakon sent reinforcements, whereupon the Scots retired. On Wednesday morning the Scots were again looting the bark of its cargo, but Hakon himself landed with a force, and the bark was almost emptied when a Scottish army came in sight. There were about eight or nine hundred Norse on the beach, and the Scots were calculated to be ten times as many, of whom five hundred were knights and the rest indifferently armed footmen. Hakon's men insisted that he should put off to his ship, and then for the whole of Wednesday the conflict raged, with a hillock as its central point of struggle. The Norse were driven back to the shingle, fighting hard on the defensive round their stranded ships, while the violence of the storm prevented help being sent. A small company at last managed a landing in boats, and the Scots were now pressed back and abandoned the hillock, which gave the hard-sted Norsemen opportunity to get into their smaller craft and return through the storm. Next day they came on shore to secure their dead, and on Friday, in easier weather, the whole fleet sailed back to Lamlash, where it lay for some nights. Hakon would have gone to winter in Ireland, as he was invited to do, but his people were against it, and so, after another night under Arran, he sailed away, having made a distribution of the islands, which he still fondly believed were his, giving Bute to Ruari (Rudri) and Arran to Margad, and what Ewen had possessed to Dugall and his brother Allan. By the time the host had got to Kirkwall Hakon had fallen ill, and there, on December 13, he died, and with him died the Norse island empire of the west. For his successor fell in with

the proposal to sell the isles for 4000 marks down and 100 yearly—the Norway Annual ¹—and all who did not care to leave were to be the subjects of the King of Scots: Orkney and Shetland remaining to Norway.

The long, tangled tale of four hundred years was closed. The northern ravens would never return, though they left much that is not yet vanished or forgotten. The Gael was to recover the upper hand in the west in blood as in speech; but the Norse strain had gone deep and wide enough to leave evidence of close incorporation in 'viks' and 'dales,' in 'marklands' and 'pennylands' and 'farthing-lands,' in name and custom and tale and belief. It makes its earliest mark in Arran in the cheap little coin dropped in the grave at Kings Cross; in the eleventh century one Olaf (Alabr= Ólafr) has cut his name in the Cell of St. Molaise in the Holy Isle. Norse dominion is nearing its close when Vigleikr, the Marshall of King Hakon (*Vigleikr Stallari*), cut his runes in the same place in the memorable autumn of 1263; ² and it

¹ The 'Annual' was never regularly nor fully paid, and the arrears were slumped in the dowry of the Danish princess who married James III. in 1469. At the same time Orkney and Shetland were pledged for a balance, but the Scots would never suffer them to be redeemed.

² Since the publication of vol. i. the runes in the cave or rock-shelter of St. Molaise on Holy Isle have been personally examined and re-read by Dr. Magnus Olsen and Dr. Haakon Schetelig (July 1911), with the following results in correction of those previously given from an inspection of photographs and rubbings (vol. i. pp. 261-7). The new readings are these:

- I. + **nikulos** [+] **a haene** + **raeist**. *Nikulos á Hæne reist*, 'Nicholas of Haen cut (the runes).'
- II. **suaein**, the Old Norse man's name *Sveinn*.
- III. **onontr raeist ru[nar]**. *Qnondr reist rú[nar]*, 'Qnondr cut the runes.'
- IV. **amudar**, a dialectic form (from the south-east of Norway) corresponding to the Old Norse man's name *Amundr*.
- V. **alabr**, *i.e.* the Old Norse man's name *Ólafr*. The inscription is older than any of the other runic inscriptions in the Cell of St. Molaise. It dates from the eleventh century.
- VI. **ioan**, Old Norse man's name *Jóan* = John.
- VII. **m** only, most likely an abbreviation of *Maria* = the Virgin Mary.
- VIII. **uigleikr stalläre ræisst**. *Vigleikr stallari reist*, 'Vigleikr the stallari [king's marshal] cut [the runes].'

sinks to the horizon with Hakon's stricken armada pouring out southwards from Lamlash; when Lamlash was still the island only, and the inner shore showed but rare huts of turf and stone amid clumps of hazel and birch.

Vígleikr was in Hakon's expedition, and is mentioned as one of the leaders in the expeditions to Kintyre and Loch Lomond. 'In all probability Vígleikr cut the inscription in September 1263, when the Norwegian fleet was in Lamlash Bay. To conclude from the form of the runic letters and from the linguistic forms, the other inscriptions in the Cell of St. Molaise (except No. V.) may also date from the autumn of 1263. To this time No. I. has been referred already by Munch.'—*Runerne I St. Molaise's Celle Paa Holy Island, Arran, Skotland*, Af. Magnus Olsen; with an English Summary. Kristiania, 1912.

CHAPTER II

ARRAN IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Arran a frontier island—the Bysset intrusion—Arran and Wallace—the rising under Bruce—Douglas in Arran—attack on Brodick garrison—arrival of Robert Bruce in Arran—the fire at Turnberry—departure for the mainland—the Arran woman's prophecy—Bruce's later connection with Arran.

WITH the passing of the Norse dominion on the west and its absorption in the kingdom of Scotland, the political relationship of Arran changed, but that relationship continues to be determined by the island's geographical position. It remains virtually a frontier island, though now from the standpoint of the east rather than of the west. Relatively to the eastern base of the new kingdom it is more remote ; it is no longer, as under Dalriada and the Norse, in the stream of things, which passes by the eastern rather than the western shore. Generally it is off the main pathway of Scottish history ; great determining events touch it but incidentally. Only in the domestic broils of the west, or when that region becomes again, as it was well suited to be, the theatre of desperate resistance, does Arran come boldly into the strong light of history. From its remote yet convenient position it was equally suited to being a refuge or a base of action, and its halfway proximity to Ireland helps in both senses.

On these lines we can understand its fitful connection with the strange story of the Scottish Byssets, who were to have lands also in England and Ireland. In 1242, under

Alexander II., the young Earl of Atholl worsted Walter Bysset of Aboyne, Aberdeenshire, in a tournament at Haddington, and immediately thereafter was burned to death in his house. For this the Scottish nobles laid the blame upon Walter and his nephew, John Bysset of the Aird, founder of Beaully Priory, and feeling was so strong that the king had to remove both out of the country. The two took service with Henry III. of England, and fought for him in Ireland, where John got lands in Ulster, while Walter had some English estates. Walter was afterwards in Scotland, but may have found the country still too hot for him : the Atholl feud would still be lively. Then he is known to be dead, but the jurors, who settle about his English estates, are in a difficulty : ‘ For they know not the date of his death, nor can know it. For he died far off in Scotland, in a certain island called Arrane.’¹ This was in 1251, fifteen years before Arran was definitely of Scotland, though the Scottish power was probably intruding itself, as we have seen. Bysset must have found the island a temporary refuge in trouble. He left his property to his nephew Thomas, who may have been a child of John of Ulster ; at any rate, it is a Thomas Bysset from that quarter who is the next link with the island.

In the interval much had happened. The direct succession to the Scottish Crown had failed ; Edward I. had been invited to act as a friendly arbiter among a dozen claimants, had first forced acceptance of his claim to be Feudal Superior of the Scottish king, and then given a decision in favour of John Balliol. King John and his nobility were next harassed into a futile rebellion, and Edward assumed for his own the forfeited kingdom. Followed the rising under William Wallace.

If we could accept the authority of *The Wallace*, the reputed work of blind Henry the Minstrel, we should have Arran devotedly backing the patriot :

¹ Bain's *Calendar of Documents*, i. No. 1836.

Gud westland men off Aran and Rauchlé
 Fra thai be warnd, thai will all cum to me.¹

But the credit of this poem as an historic document is worthless. We get firm standing, however, in a record from a contemporary English historian, which again brings a Bysset into connection with the island. After his crushing defeat of Wallace at Falkirk ² (1298), Edward I. went round to the west country and finally turned up at Ayr (Are), where Robert Bruce had cleared out of the castle before his arrival. Here he was communicated with by Thomas Bysset, who, it was commonly said, had come from Ireland to the help of the Scots. Bysset had put into Arran (*insula de Aree*), whose inhabitants had submitted themselves to him. Hearing that victory had fallen to the King of England, he had sent messengers to Edward instructed to say that he, Bysset, had come to that king's assistance, and in his name had acquired the said island, which, he requested, should be given in possession to himself and his heirs for all time coming. Edward accepted his assurance and granted his petition, without the advice of his earls, it is noted; which carries on the suspicion that Bysset had conveniently changed his coat.³ The Byssets, however, clung to what seemed to be the stronger side, and a Hugh de Bysset was commander of a fleet which was operating in the Clyde, about Bute, in October 1301, and again, with John de Menteith, was occupied in January 1307 among 'the isles on the Scottish coast,' 'in putting down Robert de Brus and his accomplices lurking there, and destroying their retreat.'⁴

¹ *The Wallace*, bk. xi. ll. 725-6. Rauchlé is the island of 'Rauchryu' or Rachlin off the north coast of Ireland, and the reputed refuge of Robert Bruce.

² At Falkirk Sir John Stewart of Bute had a following of Brandanes (*Brendanis*, *Gest. Ann.* c. i.). Wyntoun calls them the 'Brandanys off Bute.' According to Pennant (1772) the natives of Arran also were known as *Brandani*, but this is not the ancient view. Cf. *Scotichronicon*, ii. p. 315.

³ Hemingburgh's *Chronicle*, ii. pp. 181-2.

⁴ Bain's *Calendar*, ii. Nos. 1888, 1889.

This commission seems to have been the last of the Bysset connection with Arran, which, oddly enough, by another timely political change, was in time secured by the house of Bysset's cleverer comrade Menteith, whose name is for ever associated with the capture of Wallace.

But Arran, from its position as an intermediate base from Ireland, could be put to more definite use in a struggle which involved that country also from time to time, and which had in Scotland the difficult west as its ultimate holding-ground. This latter fact brought English columns to that side on several important occasions, of which one has already been noticed. In the spring of 1301, during the Comyn or baronial phase of Scottish resistance, Edward I. found himself in a position not to have to renew a truce with his enemies, and so prepared for a comprehensive campaign, in which his son was to advance from Carlisle on the west side to 'Newcastle-of-Ayr,' and he himself was to cross country from Berwick to Glasgow. His son's share was a fiasco, though Edward duly carried out his own part of the programme, finally going as far as Linlithgow. The feeding of the armies was always a serious problem, and, as the west was included in this campaign, provisions had to be brought to that quarter. Ireland, under English control, was a constant resource as a food-producing country, and Edward accordingly arranged for a goodly importation of wheat, oats, malt, beans, peas, new wine, salt pork, and herrings to supply his men; of which one half was to be consigned to a port near the western base at Carlisle, the other half to a port on the island of Arran, whence, presumably, it could be shipped or otherwise transferred to Glasgow. Arran was probably as little proud of such a service as ever restive Ireland.

Six years later the island was playing a very different part in the national drama, as Ireland in time also was to do.

And here let us praise famous men and the island and people that were to give them shelter and encouragement

in that dark and doubtful hour before the dawn, when the cause of Scottish independence was yet below the horizon of the national hopes.

The winter of 1306-7 was spent by Bruce and his comrades in the island of Rathlin, between Kintyre and Ireland. The treacherous assault at Methven in the previous June had scattered their little army; relatives and friends had perished on the gallows; their heroic women-folk were in English hands; they themselves had reached safety only by resourcefulness, hardihood, and the help of Angus MacDonald of Kintyre. But they were not cast down; though Bysset's ships were under orders to put to sea in search of the fugitives. As the spring drew on, James Douglas became impatient for action, and suggested to Sir Robert Boyd a descent upon Arran, where the English were in possession by the 'strong hand,' and where was a 'stith' (strong) castle of stone: this was a good opening for causing trouble.¹ Boyd readily fell in with the proposal; he was a west country man and said he knew well both the island and the castle. Taking leave of the king, Douglas and his companions embarked in a single galley, which would not carry more than a dozen men, and made for Kintyre. They then rowed along in the shadow and shelter of the land till night began to fall, when they crossed right over to Arran, probably coming to shore either at Machrie or Drumadoon Bay.² Their galley they drew up under a brae, where they found hiding for it, and there too concealed their oars, tackle, and helm. Then, no doubt under the guidance of Sir Robert Boyd, who had the local knowledge, they crossed the island during the night, apparently a rainy night, for by the time they arrived in the neighbour-

¹ For this part and what follows of the narrative see *The Bruce*, bk. iv. 336 ff.

² 'Into Kentyre soyn cumin ar thai:
Syne rowit all-ways by the land,
Till at the nycht wes neir at hand;
Than till Arane thai went thair way.'

The Bruce, bk. iv. ll. 367-70.

hood of Brodick Castle they were wet as well as tired and hungry. It was now the early dawn, but they had taken cover near the castle and watched eagerly for a chance of action.

The island was in the hands of Sir John de Hastings, who had been one of the competitors for the crown, as the descendant of the youngest of the three daughters of the brother of William the Lion, while Balliol and Bruce were, respectively, from the elder two. In May 1306 he had been granted by Edward I. 'the Earldom of Mentethe with the Isles.'¹ He was now in the 'castell of Brathwik' (Brodick) with a good company of knights, squires, and yeomanry, enjoying his opportunities for sport on the hills, and a terror to the inhabitants.² As it happened, on the evening before the arrival of Douglas and his tiny band, the under-warden had come over from the mainland with supplies of food and clothing and arms in three boats, which were now lying just below their hiding-place. Presently more than twenty men began to come up from the boats in careless fashion, dreading nothing, some with wine casks, some with weapons or other things. Suddenly out upon the struggling and amazed carriers rushed the little ambuscade of unexpected Scots, falling upon them and slaying without hesitation or mercy, while the terrified cries of their victims rose 'hideously and high' on the still morning air. The whole company seems to have been annihilated or nearly so. The garrison, hearing the cries of their comrades, rushed to their assistance,

¹ Bain's *Calendar of Documents*, ii. No. 1771.

² 'Sir John the Hastyngeis, at that tyde,
With knychtis of full mekyll pryde,
And squyaris and gude yhemaury,
That war a weill gret cumpany,
Wes in the castell of Brathwik.
And oftsis, quhen it wald him lik,
He went to hunt with his menyhe,
And sua the land abandonit he
That nane durst warn to do his will.'

The Bruce, bk. iv. ll. 384-91.

upon which Douglas rallied his men to meet them, but the English turned at the sight and fled back, with the Scots hard at their heels and cutting them down up to the very castle gate. The men in the boats, seeing this direful happening, hurriedly put to sea again, but a land breeze rose, so that they could neither land nor ride it out, and two of the three boats were swamped: no doubt they were undermanned. Nothing more could be done, so Douglas and his men helped themselves to the underwarden's stores and, well content, returned to a strong position in a 'woody glen,'¹ which, from all circumstances, we may guess was that known later as Glencloy.

It was ten days afterwards that King Robert, with his whole company of about three hundred men in thirty-three small galleys, followed to Arran and took lodging 'in a toune,' that is, according to old Scottish usage, in a farm-town or hamlet.² As he was to launch his fleet, to cross to the mainland, from the spot where he had originally landed—having made no move by sea in the interval—and as this was where he could look across to Turnberry, it is clear that his landing was on the east side; moreover, it was not very far from Douglas's position—very probably at Whiting Bay. Inquiring about any strangers who had recently come to the island, Bruce was informed by a woman how a band had quite recently inflicted defeat and loss upon the Warden and were now in a 'stalward place' not far away. She led him to the 'woody glen' in which she had seen the

¹ 'Syne till a strait thai held thair way,
A sted . . . in a woddy glen.'

The Bruce, bk. iv. ll. 458, 491-92.

² 'The King arivit in Arane;
And syne to the land is gane,
And in a toune tuk his herbery.'

The Bruce, bk. iv. ll. 464-66.

The popular story of Bruce's occupation of the King's Cave on the west coast has thus no foundation in fact. The association with Loch Ranza is due to Sir Walter Scott.

strangers, and three blasts upon the king's horn carried to Douglas and Boyd the welcome news of his arrival. There was a joyful reunion, with success to tell of, and then all returned to the place occupied by the king.

Next day King Robert made the proposal that a Carrick man in his following, Cuthbert his name, should be sent across to that district to find out how things were going there, and whether circumstances were favourable for a fresh start in hostilities. Should he find the prospects good, he was to intimate the fact by lighting a fire on Turnberry Point. Cuthbert duly went over, took stock of the situation, and found nothing but discouragement. Few of the country folk had any good to say of his master, others were fairly cowed, some frankly enemies; Englishmen were everywhere. Percy occupied Bruce's own castle of Turnberry with full three hundred men. Rich and poor, under the heavy hand of the castle garrison all were become English in sympathy. With these doleful tidings Cuthbert prepared to return.

It was a critical moment in Scottish history. Cuthbert's time was up, and from the Arran shore the king, on the appointed night, looked anxiously for the signal. The moon sank, and through the darkness came the summoning beam from Turnberry. The king drew the attention of his men to what he saw; then all professed they too saw a light; and joyfully the galleys were run down to the water, and the embarkation was begun.¹ As the king paced up and down,

¹ 'The Kyng, that in-to Arane lay,
 Quhen that cumin wes the day
 That he set till his messyngere,
 As I devisit yhow lang ere,
 Eftir the fyre he lukit fast;
 And, als soyn as the moyn wes past,
 Hym thought weill that he saw a fyre,
 By Turnbery byrnand weill schyre (clear);
 And till his menyhe can it schaw:
 Ilk man thought weill that he it saw.'

The Bruce, bk. iv. ll. 612-21.

waiting till all were aboard and ready, the Arran woman who had been his hostess took him aside and confidently foretold a full measure of success for his undertaking. Nothing, she said, would stand against him till he had overcome his foes and recovered the kingdom. Much, indeed, would he suffer before he came to his purpose, but come he would ; and to show her trust in her foretelling she sent with him her two sons, knowing that he would not fail to reward them when he came to his high position.

The rest is well known. The little fleet of transports with their three hundred men kept on through the gathering darkness, steering for the ever brightening fire.¹ They found Cuthbert in despair. He could not venture to extinguish the fire, nor did he know how it came to be there (nor has it ever been known), yet he feared, and rightly, that it would bring the king over, where no encouragement was for his enterprise. Bruce's anger at the mischance faded before his follower's explanation, and he turned for advice to his leaders. His impulsive brother Edward bluntly answered that nothing would send him to sea again ; for good or ill he was going on with the business. Bruce assented ; and, when Cuthbert informed them that two-thirds of the garrison were lodging in the village, while their own coming was unknown, they easily surprised these and slew them all save one only, who escaped ; while those in the castle listened to the tumult but feared to make a sally, not knowing who or how many the assailants might be. There was a haul of plunder, which Bruce divided among his men ; and after a stay of three days, he, with his Islesmen and Irish, withdrew to work his will on the countryside, finally to seek a refuge

¹ ' In-to that tyme the nobill King,
With his flot and a few menyhe,
Thre hundir I trow thai mycht weill be,
Is to the se furth of Arane
A litill forrow the evyn gane.'

The Bruce, bk. v. ll. 14-18.

of defence in the fastness of the southern hills. So, for the time being, Arran, having served its purpose, passes from the story.

But when all was over, when English domination had been finally ejected, and the king had fixed his place of residence in the west, at Cardross, he was again to visit the island, probably more than once and for the sport of hunting. At any rate we have record of a visit there in 1326, when six men were paid wages of two shillings for crossing in his yacht for the king in Arran.¹ He had revenues also from the island, for we find record of payments of stirks and swine and boars,² as well as of £3, 6s. 8d. from the rector of the church to the Constable of Tarbert.³

[NOTE.—Nothing has been said above of an alleged capture of Brodick Castle by Bruce, who, at this stage, was, for good reasons, not concerned with wasting time in front of fortresses; nor of the presence of Arran men at Bannockburn, since for neither is there a vestige of evidence. The first is in itself quite improbable; and while, in the second case, mention is made in *The Bruce* of men from Argyll, Kintyre, the islands under the lordship of Angus of Islay, and from Bute, no mention is made specifically of men from Arran.]

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, i. p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, i. pp. 193, 194, etc.

³ *Ibid.*, i. p. 52; cf. in text, p. 80.

CHAPTER III

THE OWNERS OF ARRAN (I.)

Arran and the Earldom of Menteith—the Menteith Stewarts as Lords of Arran—transfer to the Royal Stewarts—Arran in the Royal accounts—the farms and their rentals—devastations by the men of Knapdale and Kintyre, and reductions of rent—the story of Ranald MacAlister—mortgage of the island to the Bishop of Glasgow—devastation by Donald Balloch—unsettled condition—the ‘services’ of Colin, Earl of Argyll—grant to the Boyds.

I

ARRAN is a fair domain, clearly bounded and exclusive, very noble to the eye, with every variety of surface, a kingdom in small, a patrimony of pride. Much inferior to the neighbouring island of Bute, no doubt, from the point of view of income; in mediæval times that island was worth nearly three times the rent of Arran, and a safer investment besides; while, from its close connection with the Stewarts, probably, as well as its superior value, it has given its name to the shire.¹ But it is Arran that takes the eye, and its facilities for sport among the deer were at all times an attraction to a leisured class. It must have been this which brought Bruce thither in his later easy days. In the thirteenth century the island, with Knapdale and Cowal, seems to have formed part of the earldom of Menteith: we have seen that in 1306 Sir John de Hastings had, from Edward I., that earldom ‘and the isles.’ Before that time, therefore, it must

¹ Buteshire includes Bute, Arran, Big and Little Cumbrae, Holy Isle, Pladda, and Inchmarnock.

have been in the ownership of the Comyn Earl Walter, whose death without issue brought about a curious law-case, which was settled by a division of the lands, one half going to the claimant Walter the Steward with the title, the other to a William Comyn who also left no children.¹ As the parts are not specified, nothing more definite can be said. By a marriage of a younger son of Walter Stewart with the Comyn heiress the lands were once more consolidated, and the son of this marriage received the earldom: his younger brother is the notorious John (Stewart) of Menteith, unhappily associated with Wallace. Apparently, as the earldom was allotted to a younger son of the High Steward, so Arran and Knapdale, in their turn, were transferred to a younger branch of the earl's family. Younger sons of noble families must be appropriately provided for; a master fact in the workings of history. Thus the island was probably, after Bruce's establishment, in possession of the above Sir John, but it is his son who first appears on record as 'Lord of Knapdale and Arran,'² in which capacity he makes grant to Gillespie Campbell of Lochawe of a 'pennyland' of 'Clachelane' (Clachland), of 'Kilbryde,' and another of 'Kinlochorednesey' (Kinlochranza), which we shall meet again in the translated form of 'Lochede' or Loch-head. This Sir John dying before 1344,³ it is his son, last male of the race and last of the Menteith lords, who in 1357 grants to the monastery of Kilwinning the churches of St. Mary and St. Brigit in Arran, with their chapels and the lands pertaining, present and future.⁴ This grant will come up in another connection.

A much more important transaction now falls to be recorded. The mother of the last Sir John was a daughter of the Earl of Mar, of the older line, and his sister's daughter married Sir Thomas Erskine, whose son, the first Lord Erskine, initiated the claim on the now vacant earldom of Mar, which

¹ *The Bruces and the Cumyns*, p. 403.

³ *Scots Peerage*.

² *Argyll Charters*.

⁴ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, i. No. 86.

was later made good by this first Lord's son. Thus the wife of Sir Thomas represented the Menteith line, and from 1387 onwards, in or before which year Sir John Menteith must have died, we have successive entries to Sir Thomas and his successors of a payment of £100 annually from the burgh rents and fishings of Aberdeen, granted by Robert II. in exchange for the lands of Arran.¹ This payment continued to be made to the Erskines down to the year 1532, when Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen, purchased it from John Lord Erskine as an endowment for the hospital founded by him in Old Aberdeen, worthily carrying on the public benefactions of the great Bishop Elphinstone. But the transference of Arran back to the senior line of the Stewarts must have taken place a good deal earlier than 1387, for some time before 1371 (the charter is undated), when Robert the Steward became King of Scotland, he, still merely Robert Stewart, made grant of certain lands in the south of the island to 'Sir Adam of Foularton';² he must, therefore, have been in possession before that time. A further complication is that in the year 1306 the lands of the Lord Steward include Bute, Arran, Cowal, Knapdale, and the two Cumbraes, the Menteith 'island' possessions, in fact.³ Probably they were restored to Menteith in consideration of his later support of Bruce. Now they were back in Stewart hands again. The earlier Stewart kings had the same affection for their calf-country of the west as Robert the Bruce, and as Bute was theirs and the Cumbraes, it was tempting to round off the island domain or, at least, keep it wholly in the family. They had not as yet wholly fallen in with the new associations of the Crown.

From this point, then, but specially from just before the

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. p. cxviii (note); vol. iii. pp. 217, 233, etc.

² *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Report xi., Appendix part vi. p. 21.

³ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 500 or 142, according to edition. 'These lands are said 'to extend to £1000 by old taxation.'

middle of the fifteenth century, we have considerable detail as to the dealings of the royal house with respect to Arran: the island becomes part of the royal domain and has its place in the royal accounts. Portions of it are disposed of to other families, some of whom are relatives, and these will be considered in their place. Meanwhile, there may be presented a table of the royal holdings in the island with the rentals of these. These rentals vary but little over the half-century or so of which we have record, not at all in money and only a trifle in produce. Competitive rents are as yet unknown. *Grassums*, at the renewal of the annual 'setting' at Martinmas, are paid in fixed quantities of barley and in the proportion of one mart or head of cattle to every mark (13s. 4d.) of money rent. In Bruce's time we hear of payments in swine from the island, but these do not figure in the official rent-rolls of the later period. Barley and cattle, as the chief produce, exhaust the payment in produce; the cattle are landed at Arnele (Portincross) or Toward,¹ and thence drovers bring them, at the royal expense, to Stirling.

TABLE OF THE KING'S FARMS IN ARRAN:
COMPILED FROM EXCHEQUER ROLLS

NAME ON ROLLS	NAME ON MAP	MONEY		BARLEY	
Knokankelze . . .	Cnocan a'Choilich (Knock- ankelly)	s.	d.	Bolls	Firlots
Achinarin	Achancairn (Auchencairn) .	26	8	5 ²	0
Ardlavenys		53	4	3	0
Monymor		40	0	2	0
Penycroyce	Monamor	40	0	2	0
Latternagunnach	King's Cross	46	8		
Blarebeg	Letter	40	0		
Blaremore	Blairbeag	20	0		
	'Blaer Moir' (Blaeu's Map)	33	4	2	0

¹ 'For agitation (driving) of the said 40 marts from Bute and Arran to the Toward, 20s.' Accounts for 1449 in *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. v. p. 364.

² In the account of 1459 and 1460 Knokankelly (Cnocan a' Choilich) is found to be overvalued in the assessment, because while standing at 5 bolls 'it only pays 2 bolls.'

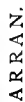


TABLE OF THE KING'S FARMS IN ARRAN—*continued*.

NAME ON ROLLS	NAME ON MAP	MONEY		BARLEY	
		s.	d.	Bolls	Firlots
Downbrowach .		26	8	2	0
Marcynegles .	Marg na h-Eaglais (Margna-heglish) .	13	4	1	0
Clachlan .	Clachland .	33	4	2	0
Terquhillane .	Strathwhillan .	33	4	2	0
Scalvadil .		26	8	2	0
Mace and Knovach .	Mayish, Knowe .	33	4	2	0
Glenormodil .	Glen Ormidale .	26	8	2	0
Brathewik .	Brodick .	20	0	1	2
Glenservaig ¹ .	Glen Sherraig .	40	0	3	0
Crainschaunt .	Glenshant .	33	4	2	0
Glenrosse .	Glen Rosa .	40	0	2	0
Knokan, Penycastel .	Cnocan: Some fields near Brodick Castle (Cameron)				
Rounygay and Corriknokdon	Corrie (Kori-knock-dow—Blaeu's Map) .	£5	0 0		
Lochede .	Head of Loch Ranza .	£4	0 0	6	0
Catagil .	Catacol .	40	0	3	0
Tonerageich .	Ton-ri-gaoith (Thundergay)	40	0	3	0
Pinreoch .	Penriach .	53	4		
Altgowlach .	Alt Gobhlach .	13	4		
Tymocheer ² .	Imachar .	13	4		
Baynleeka .	Banleacainn (Balliekine) .	20	0		
Dougare .	Dubhgharadh (Dougrie) .	13	4		
Achhachor .	Achancar (Auchencar) ³ .	22	0	2	0
Achaglan and Machermor .	Achangallon .	40	0		
Macherbeg .	Machrie (mor: beag) .	20	0		
Glasdree .	Glaster .	16	8		
Monyculye .	Moinechoill (Monyquil) .	40	0		
The sum-total of dues from the island for the first year in money, £56, 18s. 8d.		Sum-total of barley for the rents in kind of the year, ⁴ 3 chalders 1 boll 2 firlots.			
Sum of marts for the said year, according to the computation for Bute, 17 marts.					

¹ In 1460-61 the tenant is Neil M'Duffy, who left it 'waste,' paying no rent.² Macbain and Kennedy (*Reliquae Celticae*) suggest that, as the place was a ferry (to Kintyre), the name may mean 'rowing.'³ 'Auchencar, a more recent form of Achacara,' Cameron in *Reliquae Celticae*, p. 573; *Achadh*, a field, and *caradh*, a pillar or standing-stone, *ibid.*; *Achachar* in Blaeu's Map.⁴ The table is 16 bolls = 1 chalder

4 firlots = 1 boll

36½ lbs. = 1 firlot

146 lbs. = 1 boll.

1 mark = 13/4.

The number of marts is proportional to the money rent, one for every five marks (13s. 4d.)—‘the computation for Bute.’ For comparison the rents of that island may summarily be set down at £141, 18s. 6d. money, 11 chalders 15 bolls barley, and 40 marts. Barley and marts are *grassums*, payable at Martinmas, that is, payments indicating the renewal of the yearly lease. Converting the barley and marts into terms of money at the fixed ratio, given here and there, of 4 marks a chalder and 5s. a mart, we work out the total year’s rent of these lands at £69, 10s. 8d. These do not exhaust the lands of Arran, for the Fullarton holdings are, of course, excluded, while the Stewarts of Bute held the whole south end from Knockankelly (Cnocan à Choilich) to the Feorlines; Corriegills pertained to the sheriff; Sannox was owned by a Montgomery, and Shisken by the Abbey of Saddell, while there were other ecclesiastical lands.

The money is on the Scots standard, and therefore during the fifteenth century but a third of sterling or English money: to translate this into modern values is more difficult. The relative price of barley then and now may be taken as a standard of comparison, but, again, the figure here given is a conventional one and does not represent the actual market price at any particular period. These ‘conversion’ prices are, indeed, normally much below those current at any time. The price of cattle would be quite misleading, for the same reason, and, further, because the animals were of the old little, black breed, at best not much higher than a year old calf.

Another product of Arran, in the royal accounts, was ‘mullones,’ apparently cod or whiting,¹ which were bought in 1444 at 2s. the dozen, and salted before conveyance to Stirling or Edinburgh. One way was to bring them to

¹ The editor of the *Exchequer Rolls* ‘does not pretend to identify’ them, vol. vi. p. cii. I suggest cod. Cf. ‘There is a great fishing of cod and whiting in and about this bay’ (Lamlash).—Martin’s *Western Isles*, p. 221. The prevalence of whiting may account for ‘Whiting Bay,’ just round from Lamlash, to the south.

Dumbarton by water, where they were salted and cured. In 1445 the hire of a boat or galley and the expenses of nine sailors for twenty days on this business came to £4, 10s.

But in the record of its rents we again note the special relations and exposed position of the island. And here an economic peculiarity also. Under the financial troubles of the reign of David II., a heavy impost had been laid upon wool in order to increase the royal resources. Arran, and certain other lands in the west, produced no wool and so escaped their share of the national burden. On the other hand, their 'uplying districts' abounded in victuals such as cattle and barley, wherefore they were ordained to make a contribution of these towards the household expenses of the king, at the estimate of the chamberlain; otherwise king and court would come and make a stay at suitable times at the expense of the inhabitants. In this way Arran was made to take its share 'with the lower lands in burdens and services.'¹ The threat must have been effective, for there is no statement of any such peregrination on the part of the court in the sheepless lands of the west.

It is another story when the king fails to get in all his rents from the island owing to circumstances over which the islanders themselves had no control, and from which they themselves in their degree also suffered. While Arran was King's land it was peculiarly open to the king's enemies, especially if these were on the west and in the islands, where, during the fifteenth century, there were many revolts against the royal authority. As an outlying island domain it could be conveniently reached even by a more distant and more powerful enemy. The official peace between England and Scotland, in the opening years of the century, only masked isolated acts of aggression from both sides, culminating in the capture of Prince James at sea, while on his way to France, in the spring of 1406. In the mutual recrimination

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. i. p. 508 (b) or 150.

as to breaches of the truce it is recorded that the English had made a descent upon Arran, 'ravaged the King's lands, destroyed his castle of Brodick, and burned his chapel.'¹ This is but one example of what was to be Arran's share, on many occasions, in the incidents of foreign and domestic politics.

Even more serious, however, were the unfriendly visitations of their royal lord's enemies nearer at hand, to wit across the water, where Knapdale and Kintyre were now in the possession of the ambitious and almost regal MacDonalds, Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross. When they dip deeply into Scottish politics and are making trouble for the government, Arran, from its position, positively invites attack. Thus from 1444 to 1447 we have a melancholy record of losses in the island through devastations by the 'cursed invaders from Knapdale and Kintyre.' The originating impulse to these attacks is obscure, but must be connected with the anarchic condition of the country as a whole in the minority of James II. There were feuds and parties galore, slaughters and sieges, and mutual wastings of lands. Either as taking advantage of the general unsettlement or, as is perhaps more probable, stirred thereto by the Lord of the Isles in the interest of the Douglas group of contending barons, the MacDonalds and MacAlisters of the peninsula carry on their ploys in Arran at their doors. In these they daringly compass almost the whole island, destroying and plundering without check, so that, when rents have to be paid the despoiled tenantry must be allowed abatements in proportion to their losses. The following Table from the accounts of July 1446, covering the year from the previous July, will give an idea of the extent and degree of the losses incurred. Neil Jamieson of Bute, the royal chamberlain for Bute and Arran, enters reductions of the money rents of the following places for the reason given.

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. iv. pp. xlv-vi, citing Cott. MSS.

TABLE OF LANDS 'WASTED' IN ARRAN BY KINTYRE
RAIDERS, AND CONSEQUENT ABATEMENTS OF RENT

			Abatement.			
			s.	d.		
Tymochare	.	.	13	4	because waste.	
Dowgare	.	.	13	4	"	"
Achachare	.	.	22	0	"	"
Blanlekkay	.	.	20	0	"	"
Monycoilye	.	.	40	0	"	"
Glenservag	.	.	40	0	"	"
Glenrossy	.	.	40	0	"	"
Braithwic	.	.	20	0	"	"
Terriquhilane	.	.	33	4	"	"
Dowbrooch	.	.	26	8	"	"
Blaremore	.	.	33	4	"	"
Margyneglis	.	.	13	4	"	"
Clachlane	.	.	33	4	"	"
Blarebeg	.	.	20	0	"	"
Monymore	.	.	40	0	"	"
Ardlavynnis	.	.	40	0	"	devastated.
Achacharn, of which one						
merk-land devastated						
for this year			13	4		
Knokankelye	.	.	26	8	"	"
Glasdre	.	.	33	4	"	"
Ormysdall	.	.	26	8	"	"

. . . and abatement to the Comptant of the fermes of Louchede, Cathagall, both Tonregithis, Penyrewach, Altgowloch, Macharemore, Achagallane, and Macharbeg . . . £14, 6s. 8d.

and abated to him by the barley grassums of the whole island of Arran devastated by the cursed invaders from Knapdale and Kintyre, for the year of this account . . . 2 ch. 2 ferlots.

Lands laid waste by the 'cursed invaders' from Knapdale, $9\frac{1}{2}$ marts.
Marts held back by Ranald M'Alister . . . $4\frac{1}{4}$ marts.¹

¹ For names and measures see previous Table and notes, p. 39.

Here is a loss in money alone of £41, 15s. 4d., and, adding in the money values of the other losses, we have a total shortage of £50, 12s. 7d. for one year alone on a rental of £69, 10s. 8d. And we must remember that these abatements, in more or less, had been going on since 1444, and appear on a smaller scale in the account following. Whether the result of one sweeping raid or of successive raids is not made clear, but the damage inflicted is serious enough, and is a woeful reflection on the weakness of the Scottish executive at the time. If a single raid, it must have occurred after the accounts were closed for 1442, as the first abatements are in 1444 for the two previous years; if there was more than one, the first must have been about that time, probably in the autumn of 1441. And here, as in intimate connection with these operations, and as a concrete example of the possibilities of Arran life in the first half of the fifteenth century, may be told the story of Ranald MacAlister, whose name so significantly appears in the final citation from the records given above.

II

Ranald MacAlister,¹ or, as he is sometimes anglicised, Reginald MacAlexander, rented a line of farms on the narrow, clayey shelf of land, backed by quick rising ground and heavy hills, that runs from Loch Ranza round the west side to Machrie Bay—leaving out the portion between Whitefarland and Achancar. His farms were Lochede or Kin-Lochransay, Catacol, the two Thundergays, Penriach, Altgoblach, Machriemore, Auchagallon, and Machriebeg; for which he was due a rent of £14, 6s. 8d., 12 bolls of barley, and 4½ marts, the barley rent being laid only on the first four. Unhappily, from their position, these lands were the most exposed to the incursions of the Kintyre ravagers, this being the part

¹ MacAlister should be spelled with one *l* if the Gaelic form is followed, but it is just as frequently found with two, and always has two *l*'s in the Accounts. It is not possible to be uniform.

of the island which comes nearest to the mainland, about five miles away, and Imachar being the ferry to Saddell. On the south side of Loch Tarbert, which divides Kintyre proper from Knapdale, is Loup, the ancestral seat of the chiefs of the clan MacAlister ; Ranald of Arran was probably astray from this flock, but that did not save him from being shorn. From these circumstances we may explain the troubles which beset him, as witnessed in the Accounts ; but, besides, he must have been a man of determined mind with a strong sense of personal interest.

When we first strike on his name, in 1440, he is $3\frac{1}{2}$ years behind in money rent, or £44, 3s. 4d., 3 years in barley, and 4 years in marts, and his case is to wait 'the arrival of the lord King in the western parts, and his consideration being made there with council.' The 'lord King' in that year was James II., a child of ten. Very possibly the Kintyre adventurers had been doing 'prentice work on Ranald. Four years later, in the confessed circumstances of these attacks, he is allowed a two years' abatement of his whole rent in money and of all his marts, but of one year only in barley, yet he will not pay up the other year. In 1455 comes another cancelling of his full money rent, but the chamberlain refuses to debit himself with the 12 bolls of barley, because Ranald 'will not pay to the Comptant (accountant), as the latter asserts on his oath,' nor will he pay his marts. Nothing from Ranald in the year following, the Comptant again swearing 'on his oath' that he will not pay ; in every case transferring the responsibility to MacAlister as 'answerable' or 'responsible.' 1447 repeats the tale : 'rents held back by Ranald MacAlister.' In 1448 he is allowed a reduction of £12, 11s. 8d., but he will pay no barley, and he is due $3\frac{3}{4}$ marts. A full abatement again in 1449, under all heads, while the margin due from the previous year is now also allowed him. Nor during the next two years is he able to make payment, as we learn from a later account. The

'cursed invaders' of Kintyre or other Islesmen were at work again.¹ Once more the king and the Douglasses are in conflict or in strained relations, and the young John Lord of the Isles is aye ready to take a hand for his friends. For three years the rents of Arran are correspondingly depreciated. It may have been with the idea of opposing some better resistance in this quarter that in May 1452 we find all Ranald's farms, with Imachar and Dougarie (Dubhgharadh), conferred by charter, as a military holding, on Alexander, Lord Montgomery, who already had Sannox, and who had previously had a mission of the same sort elsewhere. But the arrangement did not meet with Ranald's approval, and it was easier to get rid of him on the sheepskin than in person. In the record of 1453 he is reported to have occupied his old lands by force and violence, and is found charged with the rental of £15, 3s. 4d., which means he has been in them for rather more than a year. Meantime a new transaction had been carried through, in which Ranald was to be even more conspicuous as a withholder of rents, or a special victim of misfortune.

In 1452 James II. was obliged with a loan from the funds of Glasgow Cathedral, in particular from the offerings made in the church in the time of indulgences and intended for 'pious uses,' to the amount of 800 marks or £533, 6s. 8d. To meet this debt he, in April 1452, assigned to Bishop William Turnbull, and, in the event of the bishop's death, to the dean and chapter of the diocese, the rents of Bute, Arran, and Cowal, with the royal customs of three neighbouring ports; the beneficiary to set the lands and collect the revenues, take £100 annually, and account for the balance to the royal exchequer—until the mortgage was paid up.²

Arran was still in a dilapidated condition, but the bishop secures a payment in the first year. Then, perhaps to save

¹ In 1453 there is an allusion to a capture of the castle of Brodick.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli* (1424-1513), p. 121, No. 542.

trouble or for some other reason that must have seemed good, he leases the whole island to one person, and that person is no other than Ranald MacAlister.

The outcome is what may be guessed. In 1454 there is no payment by Ranald of either money, barley, or marts. Presumably steps were taken to arrest Ranald's goods in view of this default, for the chamberlain reports that 'he can find nothing of Ranald MacAllister's to distrain.' Next year the same; and now 'the King is to be consulted that he may write to the Sheriff to raise the said sum and to distrain for the same.' A like instruction follows for 1457, with MacAlister now three years behind and the bishop dead. Once again, however, in the period September 1456 to July 1457, 'devastation' enters the Accounts, wiping out, substantially, the whole year's revenue.¹ On May 1, 1455, the Douglas faction had been finally crushed by James II. in the battle of Arkinholm, in Dumfriesshire, and the earl and friends took shelter in the meantime with the Lord of the Isles. He dispatched his relative, Donald Balloch, with 70 galleys and 5000 or 6000 men to harry the Ayrshire coast, as they did at Inverkip, Renfrewshire, after which they harried all Arran, capturing and destroying the castle of Brodick. We can trace the results in the returns. The district in the neighbourhood of Brodick seems to have suffered most; for two years the lands of Blairbeag, 'Dubrock' (Dowbrowach), and Brodick cannot be let on account of their wasted condition, and they are unassessed as 'waste' for some years after.

For this trying year, 1456-7, MacAlister, therefore, is immune from payment, but there are still the arrears of the previous three years standing against him, £170, 16s. But

¹ The usual chronology, as in Gregory's *History of the Western Highlands*, places this descent in 1455, after Arkinholm, but in the *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 328, it is affirmed to have occurred 'in the year of the account,' that specified in the text. No devastation is recorded for the year before.

before June 1458 the undistrainable one has departed this life, leaving an heir in the same helpless condition. For about fifteen years Ranald had been a tenant of nine farms, for which he during that time paid no rent; for four years he had been lessee of the whole island, had paid nothing for three of these, and had been excused one; and he died propertyless, with these words for his epitaph, 'he had nothing to distrain.' The arrears of £170, 16s. appear still standing against his name in 1464, and must then have been written off as a bad debt. No doubt he was largely the victim of misfortune: it was hard luck of the island to offer a ready means of injuring the king, who was its lord, since the royal domain of Arran was just over the ferry from Kintyre.

There is little more to record on this line. The island continued to be afflicted while the intermittent royal feud with the Lords of the Isles continued. In 1462 a heavy balance of shortage in rent, due to the usual devastation, had to be summarily cancelled by order of the Lords of Council. Apparently efforts are made to secure the protective interest of powerful local magnates: Lord Montgomery is back in Loch Ranza and Catacol; in 1466 Colin Earl of Argyll is declared to have been granted the money rents for this and the three preceding years 'for his service to the Lord King.' The grant of the island to Thomas Boyd as Earl of Arran, in 1467, of which more hereafter, opens a new chapter in its history.

CHAPTER IV

THE OWNERS OF ARRAN (II.)

The 'firmarii' or farmers—the merklands—the 'baron-lairds'—the Montgomerys in Sannox and Loch Ranza; transference of these to the Hamiltons—the Fullartons of Corsby in the Knightslands—Fullartons of Arran in Kilmichael and Glen Cloy—the coronership of Arran—the Ardgowan Stewarts in the Tenpenny Lands—transference to the Stewarts of Bute—the Hamiltons and the Tenpenny Lands—the Stewarts retain Corriegills; sale to the Hamiltons—the Boyd Earl of Arran—the entry of the Hamiltons—James iv. and Arran—fortunes of the earldom till the Union of the Crowns.

I

IN the course of the preceding chapter has emerged in outline the nature of land occupation in mediæval times. The great owner had his estate set in portions denominated according to their money rental (returns in kind being *grassums*) as mark-lands or lands in fractions of a mark,¹ and these were leased to *firmarii* or farmers, known also as 'rentallers'² and 'husbandi.' The *firminus* leased the land at a *firma* or fixed payment, occupying the status of a 'husband' or manorial tenant. The land was cultivated in strips in the great fields.³

Thus in the last quarter of the sixteenth century we find Arran described as '300 merk land,' and able to raise 100

¹ See Table on p. 39.

² A rental was a sort of liferent lease, granted on easy terms to one who was the lineal successor of the previous occupier or was regarded as being in that position. Such a tacksman was known as a Rentaller, otherwise as a 'kindly tenant.'

³ Cf. on this Chap. ix.

men, one third of the number that could be raised in Bute.¹ In actual rental it can never have come to so much. The thirty-eight farms of the king accounted for only 85 marks, and these covered the greater part of the island. Penny-lands and farthing-lands—*feorline*, Gaelic *fedirling*, from Norse *fjording*, ‘farthing’²—hark back to the Norse occupation and measurements by valuation: the highest Norse unit was the ounce-land, paying an ounce of silver, subdivided into eighteen to twenty pennies. But in Arran, as in Argyll, the mark-land became the standard. Estates or portions of estates will be seen to be regularly described in this way: the money rentals of the previous chapter are all in marks or fractions of a mark; they are ancient, fixed, customary sums. Marts are allotted in proportion, and usually barley or other produce too, but only marts in the case of Arran. Its pasture was more to be depended upon than its tillage. Generally the farmers, who did not precisely correspond to the modern class under that name, but were simply those responsible for the ‘fermes’ or rents, continued from year to year, and it might be, and probably was the case, from generation to generation. There was no competition for farms in the way of varying rents; the true mediæval economy was based upon fixed values, and suffered but slight intrusion from the working of supply and demand.³ It avoided the worries of speculation. On the other hand, the rent was not a merely nominal one; being, by all inference, about a third of what might be assessed on the average as the total produce, it amounted to much the same proportion as is accepted nowadays. The rents in kind, as already noted, were, when converted into money, greatly undervalued, but then it was easier to pay in that fashion

¹ Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 439. Distinguish ‘merk-land’ here from that on p. 14.

² Henderson's *Norse Influence*, etc., p. 203. Mr. Bremner differs. Dr. Macbain gives origin as Anglo-Saxon, *feorthling*; but certainly its application in the west is Norse.

³ But for later developments see p. 87.

than to get cash. With the sixteenth century there is indeed a change, and competitive or increased rents begin to show themselves, but we have no knowledge of how things went in Arran. Royal lands did not set the fashion in this way. One change in these, however, does seem to have affected the island. In Bute James IV., acting in the spirit of an earlier Act of Parliament, turned his rentallers into feuars, thus making them virtually landlords subject to the payment of feu-duty. These came to be known locally as 'barons,' not incorrectly in view of their status with respect to the king, but unusual in the more limited sense, since they had no baronial investment; and the title, in the wider meaning, is known also, even down to modern times, in districts of Argyll.¹ Though there is no specific record for Arran, persistent tradition, and the use of the term in the island within living memory, would suggest that a similar step was taken in that island, where the form 'baron laird' is an effort to get nearer the particular sort of tenancy; or, at least, that the Arran 'rentaller' regarded himself as on the same footing as the Bute 'baron.' In Arran even the feuar of a building site has been known as a baron. In fact, 'baron' in the west country seems to be the equivalent of the term 'feuar,' in the honourable sense in which that title is used on gravestones in such a district as East Perthshire. It indicated a superior standing to that of mere tenant. The later history of the Bute and Arran 'barons' as feuars of their land cannot be followed out in detail: the material is wanting.

Under the farmers of the land were the actual cultivators, whose lot in Arran, as in the rest of Scotland, was probably

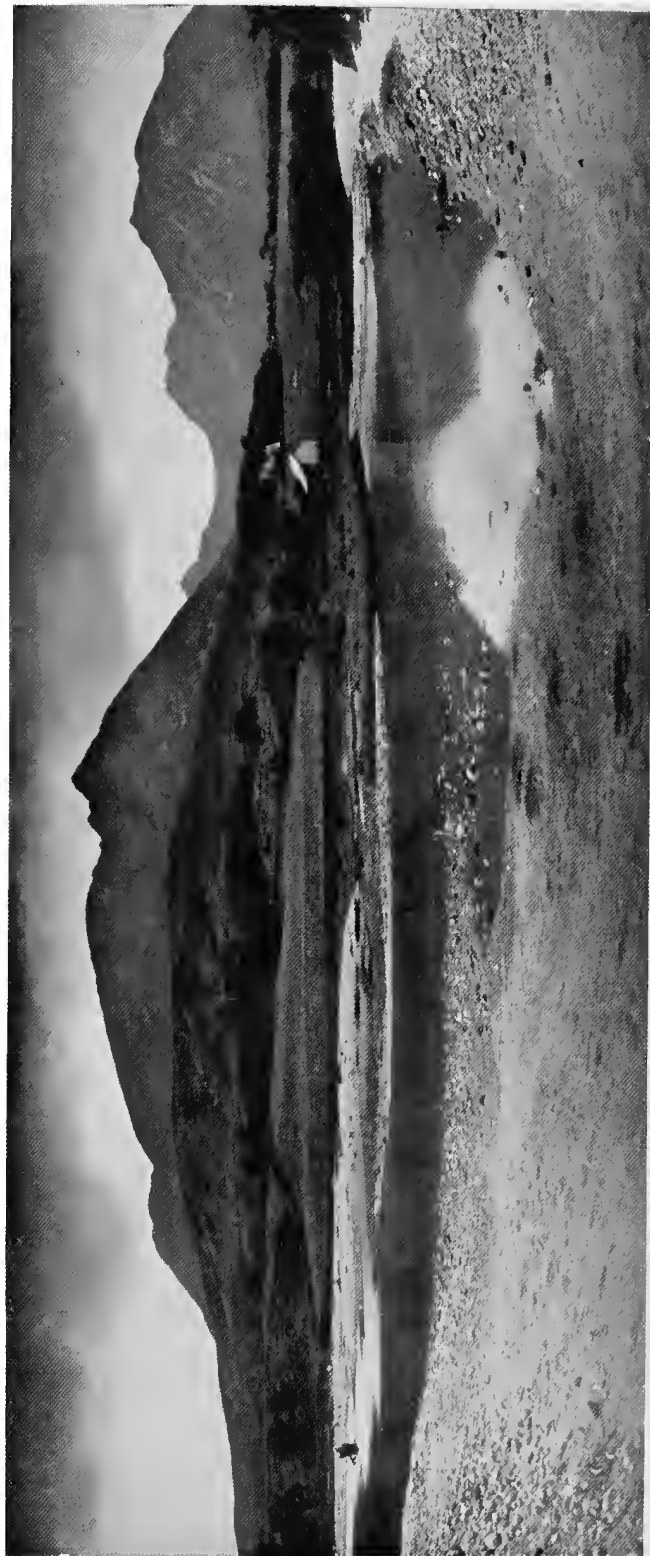
¹ See again on p. 117 ff. While this form was under investigation there appeared, on a date in the early summer of 1912, a notice in the Deaths column of the *Glasgow Herald* which stated that the lady in question was the daughter of a particular person, 'baron' of a place in the neighbourhood of Oban. 'Barons,' too, was the term anciently applied to freemen of London, the Cinque Ports, and some other places, as homagers of the king.

pretty hard. They were the producers, the labourers of the ground; it was the rentaller's privilege to get out of them what he could, pay his 'ferm,' and appropriate the balance. They had no official recognition; they were merely the workers of the hive.

Of the rentallers of the farms at any time we have scarcely any names, and these only for special reasons. Neil M'Duffy paid no rent in 1461 for Glen Sherrraig and left it waste. Of Ranald MacAlister's dealings with his nine farms the story has been told. 'Crainschaunt, Knokan, Pennycastle, Ronnygay, Corriknokdon, and Glasdree' pertained to the keeper of Brodick Castle, who had in addition £5 yearly from the revenues of the island—when it could be paid, and he had sometimes quite a long term of arrears. William Stewart, of the Bute family, succeeded Lord Montgomery in this post, and was keeper from 1444 till the castle was destroyed by Donald Balloch. During three years he had no sinecure. We have observed how Montgomery was placed in the north-west corner of the island in 1452, and he appears again in the same quarter: he also owned Sannox, which in 1469 he transferred to his second son George. In 1528 there is a fresh charter by James v. to Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton, of all his lands, including 'Lochransay' in Arran. Sannox ('Sandokes'), indeed, was computed with Loch Ranza to make up the '20-pound lands of Lochranisay,' which, by 1564, had been in the hands of the Crown, at that date of 'the Queen as Stewardess of Scotland,' for 18½ years by reason of ward; that is, Hugh Earl of Eglinton was till then under age; he had now, on assuming the property, to pay a 'relief' of £60. The return from this estate was £1110, including the revenue from the mills, for the period given above.¹

In connection with the troubled north-west, it may

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 'Eglinton Papers,' etc., p. 24; *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xix.; *Appendix Libri Responsionum*, p. 521. Account is made by the Sheriff of Bute.



GLEN SANNOX.

[Photo by Dr. C. Fred. Pollock, Glasgow.]

be noted here that in 1556 James Duke of Chatelherault, Earl of Arran, infefted 'James M'Onele of Donnawik' (James MacDonald of Dunyveg) and his heirs in the lands of Saddell Abbey, on condition, among other things, of not only himself and his friends, etc., refraining from 'ony invasions, reiffis, slauchterie, sornyngis or oppressions' within Arran, but also of maintaining and defending the same, as far as lay in their power, from oppressions or injuries by others.¹ This bond we find renewed by the representatives of the families in 1591.² Shisken was part of the Abbey lands, but it had been a further condition of the contract that MacDonald should resign all claims he might have in that quarter. It was one method of settling a standing nuisance, but it was the use of ecclesiastical property for a very secular purpose, that of paying blackmail to or bribing an unscrupulous Highland chief. Shisken, of course, had been scooped in by the Hamiltons; but that will come up later.

Loch Ranza and the Sannox lands continued in the possession of the Eglinton Montgomerys down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the Hamiltons, in 1705, used the leverage of a £3600 mortgage to have them displaced, and assumed their vacant seats.³

We may now pass to consider other owners than the king and the Montgomerys, leaving Holy Church to its proper chapter.

II

And first concerning the Fullartons,⁴ who have been so long placed in the island as to acquire a mythical account of their origin there. The Fullarton legend, in its earliest recorded form, may be taken from 'Martin Martin gent,' a

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 88-9.

² *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xi. Appendix part vi. p. 45.

³ Bryce's *Geology of Arran*, p. 133.

⁴ Various spellings: Folartoun, Fullarton, Foulartoune, Fullerton.

Skyeman by residence at least, also a traveller, who published in 1703 the first edition of his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*. He, of course, sets down the current opinion among 'the natives' of Arran, and it runs as follows: 'The most ancient family . . . is reckoned to be Mac-Louis, which in the ancient language signifies the son of Lewis. They own themselves to be of French parentage. Their surname in English is Fullarton, and their title Kirk-Mitchell, the place of their residence. If tradition be true, this little family is said to be of 700 years' standing.'¹ This would take back the Fullartons to before the Conquest, but here 'tradition' has erred badly. Fullarton, in its Gaelic dress, does appear as MacLouy or M'Clowy, and from this the glen which radiates to the south-west from Brodick Bay came to be known as Glen Cloy. But the Gaelic is simply Mac-luaidh, 'son of the fuller,' and so a bad shot at the translation of what is purely an English place-name, Fuller-ton, 'the township of the fuller.' The nest of the family was 'Fullerton' in Corsby, Kyle, Ayrshire; a confirmation by Robert II. tells us that James the High Steward, his grandfather (1281 or 1282-1292), had granted the land of 'Foulerton' in Kyle-Stewart to Adam, son of the late Alan de Foulerton,² so that they owed their territorial foundation, apparently, to the Stewarts, and may have thus been 'Norman' indeed.

Other branches of the same family were planted in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire, through the same influence,

¹ Martin, as cited, pp. 223-4. Here is another version: 'That two sons went out of the house of Fullarton, one of the name of Lewis and the other James. Lewis went to Arran and was called M'Lewis or M'Cloy, etc. James went to the Isle of Bute and was called M'Camie of (or?) Jamieson, and acquired lands there and was made Coroner of Bute, etc.' This is given as 'tradition.'—Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections* (S. H. S.), i. p. 343.

² *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, vol. i. p. 85, No. 297. The same charter also conveyed Gailes. James became High Steward in 1281 or 1282, and died ten years afterwards. For a curious difficulty about James as H. S., see Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, i. p. 333.

and the Fullartons were much patronised with gifts by both Robert II. and Robert III.¹ At some date before he became king in 1371, Robert, Steward of Scotland, granted to Sir Adam of Foularton, knight, heir to the late Reginald of Foularton, Lord of that ilk (= 'same,' *i.e.* Foularton), the lands of Knychtislands, with pertinents, in Arran, 'to be held to Adam and his heirs of the granter and his heirs in fee and heritage for ever,' on the usual feudal terms, 'performance of common suit of court at the Castle of Bradwok (Brodict), and for ward and relief as they happen.'² Common suit of court or attendance at courts of justice was no mere form any more than a jury summons; absence involved a heavy penalty; the grantee was expected to give his assistance in the administration of justice. From later charters we gather that 'Fullarton' was also Lord of Corsby, and that 'Knightslands' were also known as 'Drumrudyr' and as 'alias Tonreddyr'³: all these names have disappeared, but the district is that behind Kildonan—'Tonreachers' was the term applied to the land between Kildonan and Leven-corroch inclusive.'⁴ The 'nine merklands of Drumrudir,' in the early sixteenth century, returned £6 annually; in 1515

¹ Robertson's *Index of Charters*, etc., *passim*. As will be noted, there are various slight variations in the spelling of the name.

² *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report xi. Appendix part vi. pp. 21-22. 'Ward' is the period during which an heir is under age, when the rental went to the superior or his nominee, subject to a provision for the heir; 'relief' is a sum, usually a year's rental, payable on his entering upon the property and receiving sasine.

³ 'Tonroc(?)der That is to say Knight bottome and in English Knight land. And this land remained a Considerable time with the family, Till it Seems from the Inconveniency of its remoteness and Sometimes hazardous Access thereto they have thought fit to part with it to the family of Hamilton present proprietors there (1750) of [*sic*, probably should read "thereof"] the Lands are now in value about 2000 merks per annum.'—Macfarlane's *Genealogical Collections*, i. p. 343.

⁴ Private communication from Kildonan, adding 'but nobody knew of it having any connection with Kildonan Castle.' In the Session Records of Kilmorie it appears (1712) as 'Donriddeor,' the district in question. *Tonn* is a 'wave' in modern Gaelic, from its fuller meaning of a swelling or rising part; *ridir* ('rider') is a knight. A local form with *ideal*, 'a riddle,' must have arisen from misunderstanding. The land does suddenly curve upwards.

'John Fullartoun' had sasine of the same on attaining his majority, paying a full year's rental as relief; in 1539 another John Fullartoun enters, after ten years as heir under ward. We may here spin out to its close the story of Fullartoun ownership in this quarter. Three Johns succeeded each other in these 'nine merk lands' between 1495 and 1539, and in 1541 the last of them made resignation of the property to James Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, whose son Alexander, eleven years later, transferred them to James Duke of Chatelherault and Earl of Arran.¹ Thus withered on the Knightslands the three branches, two above and one below, of the Fullartoun escutcheon; the cedar of the Hamiltons was spreading its roots.

But, in the meantime, the stock had been transplanted farther north. In 1391² King Robert III. granted to 'Fergus of Foulertone of Arrane' the land of 'Erqwhonnyne'³ in Arran, of the old extent of two marks sterling yearly, for yearly payment of one penny of silver as 'blench ferme,' a 'white' or nominal sum, to be paid at Pentecost in the Castle of Brodick. As the Knightslands' Fullartons are said to be also 'of Corsby,' this Fullartoun 'of Arran' must be a minor branch of the same, a younger son. Nine years later Robert grants to the son of Fergus the lands of 'Killemechel in the Baillary of Arran,' with the office of 'crownor' or coroner of that bailliary, which office, we now learn, had belonged to Ferchard or Fergus. Later we have Kilmichael and 'Glenklowy' associated with the same office, and by 1511 we find in the possession of the Fullartons the two marklands of Forland or 'Irachonane,' which in 1527 is expressed as Quhytfoirland. There is no need to hunt these grants through later charters, but one variation may be noted.

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, as cited, pp. 22-3.

² These details are from *Origines Parochiales*, citing the Fullartoun Charters.

³ 'Arywhonnyne, or Straith-oughlian,' Pennant's *Tour in Scotland* (ed. 1774), p. 185. That is, Strathwhillan. See list on p. 39.

In 1563 'Alan Makcloy' resigned his office and lands to the Hamiltons, and James, son and heir to the Duke of Chatelherault, with consent of his father, granted them anew to the same Alan. This seems to have been an attempt on the part of the Hamiltons to secure the superiority of the Fullarton properties, but in 1572 King James VI. confirmed the charter of Robert III. in 1400; indication that the attempt, so far, had failed and that the Fullartons had regained for their land the status of a Crown holding.¹ And so there and thus they remain to this day. Nothing particular appears in their history; probably they owe to this modesty their security of tenure. It might be expected that they would not adventure in the troubled waters of Hamilton politics: the pot of clay should not swim with the iron pot. Where they expanded, it was in the timid way of business. In 1459 Fergus Fullarton was tenant of the Crown in the farm of Clachlanbeg, the rent of which, £1, 13s. 4d., was remitted to him in that year 'because the said Fergus lost his goods in the service of our lord the King, in great quantity.'² In 1590 the Earl of Arran admitted James (or Allan) 'Lord M'Clowy' (a courtesy title) as kindly tenant for life of the lands of 'Scalpaden,' Mayish, Brodick, Glen Ormidale, and Glen Sherraig. The rest is immaterial.

Martin expounds the coronership as follows: 'The present possessor obliged me with the sight of his old and new charters, by which he is one of the King's coroners within this island, and as such he hath a halbert peculiar to his office. He has his right of late from the family of Hamilton, wherein his title and perquisites of coroner are confirmed to him and his heirs. He is obliged to have three men to attend him upon all public inquiries, and he is bound by his office to pursue all malefactors and to deliver them to the steward, or in his absence to the next judge. And if any of the inhabitants refuse to pay their rents at the usual

¹ But see extract from Martin, below.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. 531.

term, the coroner is bound to take him personally or to seize his goods. And if it should happen that the coroner with his retinue of three men is not sufficient to put his office in execution, then he summons all the inhabitants to concur with him; and immediately they rendezvous to the place, where he fixes his coroner's staff. The perquisites due to the coroner are a firlet or bushel of oats and a lamb from every village in the isle, both which are punctually paid him at the usual terms.' ¹

A further explanatory sentence may be added to complete the machinery of justice: 'The bailiff or steward has his residence in this castle, and he has a deputation to act with full power to levy the rents, give leases of the lands, and hold courts of justice.' ² That is to say, the bailiff acted for the earl, in discharge of his rights of baronial justice. Beyond this magistracy might be granted the power of Justiciary for the Crown over the island.³ Martin remarks that the inhabitants 'are very civil,' and that he 'did not hear any oath in the island.' The 'ordinary asseveration is by Nale,' which is usually taken to refer to some person of that name, but seems to be the not unusual Gaelic interjection *nàile*, 'yea!'

III

Turn now to consider the planting of some left-hand Stewarts in Arran, royal offspring out of the legitimate line. Robert II. and Robert III. were both distinguished by an outside, miscellaneous addition to the royal stock; had sultanic tastes, in fact, like several of their successors. But they were not neglectful of their parental responsibilities. For one 'natural' son of Robert II. found a place in the new

¹ Martin's *Description*, p. 224.

² *Ibid.*, p. 223.

³ 1503: James, Lord Hamilton, constituted Justiciar for life. 1629: Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, etc., granted hereditary office of Justiciar within the bounds of the earldom of Arran—as much of it as belongs to the said James (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*). See also p. 96.

hereditary sherifffdom of Bute and Arran, which was in existence at least by 1385,¹ and among the perquisites of the office this John Stewart, the dark-complexioned or 'Black,' had Corriegills in Arran. To Robert III. came a John of similar origin—the name was a favourite one with the Stewarts at this time; it was really the King's own name—and he was placed in Ardgowan in Renfrewshire.² In the year of his death (1329) King Robert added to Ardgowan's possessions the Tenpenny lands of Arran, which included Kildonan, with the Castle, Two Furlongs (the two Feorlines, north and south), Dupenny lands ('two-penny' or Dippin), the three Largies (Largie Beag, Largie Meadhonach ('middle'), Largie Mor), two Keskedelis (Kiscadale, north and south), Glenascasdale (Glen Easdale), and Clachan—forty-pound land of old extent, being the greater part of the southern segment of the island. Here, then, were two Stewart offsets in Arran, but in due course it was the fate of the greater to be absorbed in the less. The sheriff's family had also lands in Perthshire, but it pleased them to consolidate on the west, and in 1503 John Stewart of Ardgowan, in exchange for lands and rents in that county, transferred to his relative Ninian Stewart, the sheriff, the whole of his Arran estates. In 1539 the Tenpenny lands and 'the two Corriegills,' in possession of James Stewart, are stated at a valuation of £43, 6s. 8d. old extent.³

Now the son of this Ninian, 'ane of the Stuarts of Bute's blood, callit Mr. James,' as Dean Monro refers to him in 1549, was unhappy in his politics. It was the troubled time of Queen Mary's minority, when political activity craved careful walking. The situation developed on the lines of the Lennox Stewarts versus the Hamiltons: Arran being Regent and having turned Protestant, to veer again back

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. p. xeviii.

² The modern representatives of the Ardgowan Stewarts are the Shaw-Stewarts of Greenock and Blackhall. See *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Fourth Report, 'Argyll Papers.'

³ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xvii.; *Libri Responsionum*, p. 760.

to Catholicism; Lennox having hoped to displace Arran, and, failing, become a Protestant of the type of Henry VIII.—who was so only in his repudiation of the Pope. But, in his wrath, Lennox went even beyond the Douglasses, became a naturalised Englishman, and fully identified himself with Henry's cunning scheme to become master of Scotland. Now Sheriff James, possibly from his blood or name—'he and his bluid are the best men in that country,' remarks Dean Monro; that is, are of Stewart lineage—took the foolish step of attaching himself to the fortunes of Lennox and the anti-national party, having for company the chieftains of the west, with the exception of James MacDonald of Dunyveg, while the Earl of Argyll stood in with the Earl of Arran. That Argyll was on the one side made sure that at least the bulk of the MacDonalds should be on the other; and even Dunyveg was to lapse for a while.

One part of Henry's strategy was to make a descent on the west where he would find friends, and this undertaking naturally fell to the Earl of Lennox, who had hopes of capturing the castle of Dumbarton. In 1543 a recreant French captain had made proposals to Henry for operations on the Clyde coast, with which he was professionally familiar, and notes, among others, the harbour of 'Mellache,' that is, Lamlash. This port, he says, 'can float 100 great ships, and is only defended by two small towers, one beside the haven and the other on the isle that makes the port.'¹ So Lamlash did have its tower, and 'there is the vestige of a square tower near the Whitehouse in Lamlash Bay. The foundation-stones are alone traceable beneath the rich verdure of the lawn; but their extent sufficiently indicates the former strength and importance of the building.'² Lamlash Castle,

¹ *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* (Gairdner), vol. xviii. part ii. No. 541.

² M'Arthur's *Antiquities of Arran*, p. 157. He adds, 'There is no positive record of the existence of the castle of Lamlash.' The record is now supplied above. Cf. also Paterson's 'Account' in *P. E. Highland Socy.*, N.S., vol. v. p. 131.

however, meant comparatively little, Dumbarton Castle much;¹ and the latter was the objective of Lennox, when he carried out his expedition of August 1544 with about a dozen ships from Bristol and some hundreds of hackbuteers, archers, and pikemen. Arran was Hamilton ground, and so it was raided and plundered, and Brodick Castle, after re-erection, once more utterly destroyed. Brodick Castle was a sort of phoenix; repeatedly being destroyed and repeatedly rising from its ruins. But in so far as its main purpose was concerned the expedition was a failure, though Lennox whipped Argyll at Dunoon and did plentiful mischief in Ayrshire and Kintyre, including the lands of James MacDonald.

To these two gentlemen the government was appropriately grateful, and, among other things, MacDonald seems to have got the gift or promise of the Arran lands of the reckless sheriff, who was involved in the lamentable undertakings of Lennox, thus fying his own nest and lending a helping hand to the enemies of his house. Nor did it serve him much in the long run that he was pardoned for his misdoings; while MacDonald temporarily changed sides when he saw his chance to set up a claim for the lost Lordship of the Isles. In 1549 Stewart was summoned before Parliament to answer for his treason; afterwards he complains the summons was at the instigation of the Earl of Argyll, who had seized his lands by force. At this stage the Earl of Arran comes in as honest broker, but Stewart avers that that Earl was actually behind Argyll, who again had contracted with MacDonald to put him in possession of the sheriff's estates. Thus beset, Stewart was induced to sell his lands to Arran for 4000 marks, the £10 lands of Cumbrae, and a reconciliation with Argyll.² The rest of the story he told afterwards; but the grant to Arran was nevertheless confirmed, while Argyll had to settle up with MacDonald for compensation elsewhere. From the sale to Arran the land of Corriegills was exempted

¹ See further on this point, p. 93.

² *Hist. MSS.*, xi. vi. 23.

as pertaining to the office of sheriff, which Stewart was to retain. But the Tenpenny lands and 'the nine merk land of Tonrydder alias Knightslands with the island of Pladow,' their towers, fortalices, etc., passed for the time being to the Hamiltons.

Apparently MacDonald's claim continued a difficulty and a source of trouble in the isles, for seven years afterwards we have the contract, already referred to, between the Duke of Chatelherault and 'James M'Onele of Donnawik,' whereby, in return for the Saddell lands, MacDonald resigns all claim to any lands in Arran, except Corriegills and Clachlan, and promises neither to annoy the island himself nor allow others to do so.¹ The two Corriegills continued a sheriff appanage; Kildonan Castle and its forty shilling land go back, for a short term, to an Ardgowan Stewart in 1618,² but sixteen years later this Archibald Stewart resigns them and they are passed on to Archibald MacDonald of Sanda. In 1662 there is infeftment of 'Augustine Macdonald, heir of provision of Archibald Macdonald of Sanda, his father, . . . in 40 shilling lands of old extent of Kildonan in the island of Arran.'³ So the property went on being shuttlecocked between Stewarts and others; for the MacDonalds gave place later to the Stewarts of Kilquhill in Bute, and these, by sale, to the Marquis of Bute, who represented the old family of the sheriffs.⁴ But not even there was rest found.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Headrick mentions Kildonan, Pladda, and the Corriegills as being in possession of the Marquis,⁵ from whom these estates were

¹ *Collectanea de Robus Albanicis*, p. 38.

² *Argyll Sasines*, vol. i. fol. 71, *de novo*, 1619; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, s.d., No. 2023.

³ *Abridgement of Inquests at the Chapel Royal—Inquisitiones Specials*, 64. It seems that about 1565 or later MacDonald of Dunyveg gave the Tenpenny lands to his cousin John, second son of Angus Heach ('of Islay') of Sanda.—*The Clan Donald*, vol. iii. p. 388. It is a complex story, and some essential details are lacking.

⁴ *New Statistical Account—Bute*, vol. v. p. 55.

⁵ *View of the Island of Arran*, by Rev. James Headrick, 1807, pp. 63, 106, 107.

finally purchased by the Duke of Hamilton.¹ There was now no hereditary sheriffdom to anchor Corriegills.

[NOTE.—In 1681 the lands of the Stewarts in Bute, with the sheriff's portion, Corriegills, in Arran, were assigned to Sir George Mackenzie, 'The Bluidy Mackenzie'; the whole being erected anew into the Barony of Bute (*Acts of Parl.*). Sir George never completed or registered his title, and, as Sir James Stewart of Bute was his son-in-law, the transaction was probably due to family reasons. In 1703 the Acts record a regrant of the same lands to Sir James Stewart, Earl of Bute, and a re-creation of the barony in favour of Stewart. See Appendix C in Lang's *Sir George Mackenzie*.]

IV

Having thus followed the tributary streams to their absorption (except that of Fullarton) in the main river of the Hamiltons, we may return to trace that from its source. We left the royal accounts at the point where the Boyds appeared in connection with the island. The sudden rise of this Kilmarnock family, in the minority of James III., to a short-lived grandeur of power and affluence, belongs to the general history of Scotland. Suffice it here to say that in 1467 Sir Thomas Boyd, eldest son of Lord Boyd, and personally, it would seem, both handsome and capable, married the Lady Mary, eldest sister of the young king. To maintain his great rank he received some profitable offices, but chiefly the royal lands in Arran, which island was erected, temporarily, into a separate sheriffdom, and permanently into an earldom, which he was the first to boast. In the autumn of 1469, by a quiet political revolution, the family's power was broken, and its members scattered. Earl Thomas, by a timely warning from his wife, escaped to England, and thereafter disappears from history. We hear of him in London about 1470 or 1472, apparently accompanied by his wife,² and it is said that their two children were born

¹ *New Statistical Account—Bute*, vol. v. p. 17, for purchase of Corriegills, two farms.

² *Paston Letters*.

abroad, where he probably died not long after. His widow married, as his second wife, the somewhat elderly first Lord Hamilton, before April 1474, surviving his death in 1479.

After the Boyd forfeiture Arran thus reappears in the royal accounts, but never separately from Bute, and in a rather haphazard fashion, being leased as a whole to some *firmarius* for a term of years: to Sir John Colquhoun of Luss, John Lord Dalmeny, John Lord Kennedy, Lord Montgomery, and, last of all, to Ninian Stewart of Bute and Arran; while the record continues pretty much as before, worsens perhaps slightly. We soon hear of more devastations by the Islesmen, 'wherefore,' naïvely runs the note in 1496, 'it is unknown.' For such reason in 1480 the farms cannot be assessed to make any return. We have a falling off in stated rent of fourpence in money, but though the barley portion has been slightly increased, the number of marts falls from 17 to 10. The cattle were likely to suffer most at the hands of depredators. A composition is made with the lessees for a fixed sum of £40 as the rent they were actually to pay. For the last three years, up to the entrance of the Hamiltons, the tenants have to be remitted the whole of their rent and marts, in a sum amounting in gross to £106, 13s. 4d. It was time for some local power, more efficient as more threatening than distant royalty, to take the island in hand.

It will have been observed that all the names thus connected with the island come from the Clyde basin—Stewarts, Montgomeries, Boyds, MacDonalds, etc., and now the Hamiltons of Lanarkshire. The steady rise of this family does not fall within our survey, but belongs to another situation, particularly Cadzow. It benefited by timely changes in its political preferences. Walter Fitz-Gilbert became first of Cadzow, and practically founder of the stock, by betraying Bothwell Castle and the English refugees thither from Bannockburn into the hands of Robert the Bruce: he had been

placed in command of the castle by the English king. The first Lord Hamilton of the line, knighted in 1440 and ennobled five years after, abandoned the rebel Douglas cause at a critical moment in its fortunes, and in course had his reward. It was he who married Lady Mary, and so made the family next in succession to the Crown, a fact which was to have an unsettling influence upon Hamilton politics in the future. But he himself thereby came no nearer to Arran, which earldom, as we see, had been annexed to the Crown. It was his son James, a knightly man with his hands, a hero of tournaments, reputed the best archer on foot or on horse in Scotland, and a lover of horses, who recovered the lost inheritance of his princess mother. He was conspicuous in the affair of the marriage of James iv. with the Princess Margaret of England, showing gallantry at the ceremony on August 8, 1503, in a costume of white damask flowered with gold. Thus dazzling the Court, he, three short days thereafter, won the reward of merit, when the king, with consent of council and parliament, 'because of his nearness of blood, his services, and especially his labours and expenses at the time of the royal marriage in Holyrood,' conferred upon him 'the whole lands and Earldom of Arran, lying in the Sherifffdom of Bute,' in heritage to heirs-male as a 'free barony for ever,' for which was to be rendered annually, 'at the principal messuage of the earldom,' that is Brodick, one silver penny as blench ferm : ¹ the silver penny is doubled on the occasion of an heir entering upon the inheritance.

We may here carry the Hamiltons a few steps further. This first Earl of Arran is the incapable admiral to whom James iv. gave command of the fleet that was to extend the Flodden campaign, and who, after making a purposeless raid on Carrickfergus in Ireland, brought the fleet to France, where some of the vessels were sold. Here may be sketched in some personal relations with the island on the part of the

¹ *Hist. MSS.*, xi. vi. 20 ; *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, s.d., No. 2741.

same king. James himself had touched at Arran on his tour to the Isles in the spring of 1498, and heard mass there, for which he gave the priest nine shillings.¹ In 1505 the warship *Colomb*, 'the dove' was operating in the siege of 'Watte Stewart' in Lord Hamilton's house, to wit Brodick or Arran Castle, but how or why Stewart was there is not stated.² The versatile king in the same year was sending to Arran for hawks,³ and in 1512 sent a Gaelic messenger, 'ane Ersche rynnar' from Ayr, where he was staying, 'to feche ane wricht out of Arrane to the King to mak ane galley'—thirteen shillings. There were still woods on Arran, and in 1488 John Hunter held the office of forester,⁴ whence some at least of the Arran family of Hunters, no doubt. The perquisite of the forester was thirty shillings, as the rent of one marcate of land of 'Almolach' (Lamlash).⁵ The son of James's admiral was the greedy politician of Queen Mary's reign, more often managed by other more determined politicians than a manager himself. His son was the possible husband for either Queen Mary or Queen Elizabeth, which may well have helped to turn his head, for he became insane, lingering on in that condition till 1609.

This made a difficulty, which was further complicated by the family devotion to the cause of the fallen Queen Mary, wherefore the estates were forfeited in 1579. A resignation of the title by the insane earl to his tutor or guardian, James Stewart of Bothwellmoor, had been secured by that adventurer, who had insinuated himself into the favour of James VI., and became notorious as the accuser of the Earl of Morton for his alleged share in the murder of Darnley. Accordingly, in 1581 King James confirmed the transaction and anew constituted the earldom and the

¹ *Accounts of Lord High Treasurer*, vol. i. p. 382.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 145.

⁴ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. x. p. 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. x. p. 5. Cf. the 'Almeslache' on p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 344.

Hamilton titles in Stewart's favour, with grant of all the Hamilton possessions, specifying this to have been done 'for the most reasonable causes.' Stewart, better known as 'Captain James' than by his passing plumes, was a rascal for all his classical acquirements, and ended his life at the hands of a Douglas (1596), as a feudal return for his action regarding Morton. Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, near Glasgow, fell on him at Catslack, Lanarkshire, had his head carried on a spear, and left his body to the dogs. Long ere that, however, he was a broken man. Meantime, the recognised head of the Hamilton house was the next son, familiar as Lord John, who was a fugitive in England. But the Presbyterian revolution of 1585, which cleared out the Stewart Arran and his party, and in which Lord John took a hand, brought about the placement of the latter in the family estates and honours. Fortunately, Lord John and the king hit it off well together; they had mutual interests in horses and racing dogs, which they borrowed from each other, and on the occasion of the baptism of the Princess Margaret, in April 1599, Lord John, Earl of Arran, was raised to the dignity of Marquis of Hamilton.

Here, for the moment, we may leave the island in its territorial character, flourishing (or not) under the cinquefoils of Hamilton, the fleur-de-lis of Montgomery in the north end, the batoned fess-checquy of the Stewarts in the south end, and, midway, the three branches of the Fullartons.¹

¹ In a resignation by John Fullarton of that ilk, Lord of Corsby, of the lands of Drumrudyr in favour of the Stewarts (see p. 56), we have a seal appended: charges, three branches of a tree, two and one; legend, S. JOHANNIS FOULARTOUNE (*Hamilton MSS.*). The blazon of the Kilmichael Fullartons is: Argent, a crescent between three otters' heads, erased, gules (red); Crest, a camel's head, erased, proper (natural colour); Motto, *Lux in tenebris* (Light in darkness).

CHAPTER V

CHURCHES AND CLERGY BEFORE THE REFORMATION

The old religion—Christianity and the story of St. Molaise of Lamlash—the Arran Church dedications—‘Mary of the Gael’—‘Michael of the white steed’—‘the vicar of Arran’—the parish churches to the Abbey of Kilwinning—Kilbride and Kilmorie in pre-Reformation times—the abbey lands of Shisken.

WHAT sort of religious belief, of relationship to higher power than human, occupied the minds of the most ancient men whose bones are mingled with their potsherds, is matter of wide conjecture, and Arran has nothing much to contribute. That the abodes of the dead in earth-covered chambers repeat, on their own scale, the abodes of the living, and that death had become invested with ceremonial and a continued interest, are judgments that take us little beyond the margin of darkness. Lîr, Manann, Finn—if Finn be divine—are figures of a dead mythology, whose vague memories cling to the island as cloud wisps to the clefts and pinnacles of the Cir Mhór. Even the first dawnings of Christianity break dubiously through legend and surmise. Traces of the fourth century St. Ninian come nominally no nearer than Bute, and are no warrant for his presence even there. The Columba names in Arran are few and not particularly significant;¹ they suggest nothing for the sixth century,

¹ *Tobar Chalumchille* on the N.W. coast, at the south end of Mid-Thundergay (Ton-ri-gaoith)—‘the well of Colum of the Church’—and *Columbcille* in the south end. ‘There once stood a cairn or mound in Glen Suidhe, known as *Suidhe Challum Chille*, where St. Columba is said to have sat and refreshed himself with his disciple

though it is barely credible that Christianity had not already reached this outlier of the Dalriadic kingdom, which was Christian long before Columba came in 563.

On the other hand, Arran boasts a Celtic saint whom no other site can share, in Molaise or Lasrian of the sixth century, a younger contemporary of Columba, whose name has been unmusically embalmed in the vocables of Lamlash. It was the fashion of the period, especially in the monasteries, which, instead of parishes or dioceses, were the units of the Celtic Church, to give a sympathetic turn to a saint's name by prefixing to it the syllable *mo*, 'my,' or adding the diminutive *an* or *ian*, so that Las or Lais, 'a flame,' was thus made Mo-las, 'my flame,' or Lasrian, 'little flame.' In either form it was no uncommon name.¹ More rarely *do*, 'thy,' is used; thus we have our personage also called Dolaissi, 'thy Lais.'² A Molaise was the famous Abbot of Devenish, who is connected with the story of Columba in Ireland, and a Lasrian was the second successor of the founder in the Abbacy of Iona. 'Molaise a flame of fire' would apply equally to all of them, though rather in its shining than in burning quality. The island made the 'Holy Isle' by the residence of the Arran saint, was thus first known as *Eilean Molaise*, which on uncouth Sassunach lips became the 'Helantinlaysche,' more commonly 'Almeslache,' of the fourteenth-century chronicler Fordun and his fifteenth-century continuator, and so transformed itself into Lamlash, passing from the island to the bay and then to the settlement

(St. Molaise or Molios) whilst travelling from Lamlash to the little chapel at Shisken' (M'Arthur's *Antiquities of Arran*, p. 160). The association of these two seems to be pure invention.

¹ There are seven of the name in the martyrology of Donegal. An alleged Arran form pronounced Molise or 'Molees' is the result of wrong etymologising, as if from Maol-Iosa, 'tonsured one' or 'slave of Jesus.' Cf. M'Arthur's *Antiquities*, p. 160, note. For this reason he always gives the form Molios. Headrick in his *View of Arran* takes the same line (p. 80).

² *Annals of Ulster*, vol. i. p. 105.

on the shore, which in the older topography was 'the kirk-toun of Kilbride.'¹

The life of our Molaise is written at length in a MS. of a time later than the eleventh century, which in substance, however, no doubt embodies more ancient material.² Thus runs the tale. Molaise, like Columba, was of royal kin: 'He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, King of Erin, of the seed of Heremon.'³ Aidan of Dalriada, after the death in battle of his father Gabhran when fighting against the Picts, fled to Uladh or old Ulster in north Ireland, where was born to him a daughter Gemma, 'jewel' in nature as in name,⁴ from this happy coincidence known later as Maithgemm (*bona gemma*, 'good jewel'). She married an Ulster *princeps* or chief, apparently also of royal rank, called Cairell; but elsewhere her husband is given as Cuinid.⁵ To them was born, about 566, *Las* or *Lais*, 'the flame' that was to become a 'star of glory' (*gloriosum sidus*). Unfortunately on these terms dates do not quite fit in. According to the annalist Tighernach, Gabhran was slain in 560. If Gemma was born after that date, she must have been a too premature mother, being aged, at most, six or thereabouts at her son's birth. This is not very plausible; but chronology, in such a case, is perhaps too cynical a test.

Very early was the destiny of the boy prefigured by signs

¹ *Acts of Parl.*, vii. 580 a (1669). The Norse form for the island was Melansay. Dean Monro refers to it in 1549 as 'the yle of Molass' (*Description of the Western Isles*). Headrick (1807) calls it 'The island of Lamlash' (p. 80). 'From the Almeslache of Fordun (Bower?), Professor Mackinnon suggests the intermediate steps to have been: Eilean Molaise, Elmolaise, Lemolash, Lamlash' (Henderson's *Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 202). *Helantinlaysche, quae vulgariter Almeslache* is the phrase in *Scotichronicon*, lib. ii. cap. x. It is Almolach in *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. x. p. 5. Kilmalash or Kilmaglass are Irish forms embodying the same name.

² For this see *Acta Sanctorum*, April 18, from which the leading facts that follow are taken. See also Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 407 ff.

³ *Martyrology of Donegal*, April 18, p. 105.

⁴ *Virtutum meritis et nomine Gemma*, 'by her virtuous merits and in name a gem.' — *Acta Sanct.*

⁵ *Annals of Ulster*. The *Book of Leinster* and other ancient sources give Cairell.

and miracles. A man blind from birth chanced to wash his face in the babe's bath water and was immediately endowed with sight. This must have been an eye-opener to the parents also. Anyhow, when Aidan returned to Dalriada he brought mother and child with him, and with him they remained till the boy was twelve or fourteen years old. But little Lasrian had grown up in an atmosphere of miracle diffused from his mere personality. It was this reputation that brought a visit from St. Blane, his uncle in Bute, and, when one of Blane's horses was stolen, the pious telepathy of the boy, or something of that sort, brought the thief back with the horse, under the illusion that he was being pursued by the king's soldiers. Aidan now sent him to complete an appropriate education in Ireland, the land of saints, under S. Fintan, surnamed Munnu, a former pupil of Columba in Hy. The lad's miracle-working powers became more conscious with his years. Prayer was his means : when pirates, apparently Pictish, threatened the monastery, Lasrian spent the night with others in prayer, and in the morning it seemed to the pirates that the plain about the monastery was filled with armed men, so that they fled as if out of their mind. But there are other miracles of this class attributed to other saints, so that such visitations were not uncommon : that at least is very likely. Indeed, Lasrian's marvels are of a conventional type. It is, however, little wonder that, before he was out of his 'teens, the people wished to have him for a king. This was the crisis of his life. The 'renowned youth,' his eyes bent rather upon an eternal kingdom, refused the sceptre, and to mark his resolution withdrew to 'a certain island of the sea between Britain and Alba,' which island was Arran, or rather its adjunct Holy Isle, where his sanctity, witnessed by many miracles, won the veneration of the people. Molaise saw the intractable island pretty much as we see it now, a bluff, towering, not very graceful mass of brownish green, streaked downwards and along with

darker shades, and speckled atop with knobs of grey rock. To his eyes it was the desired haven.

Such action, a deliberate choice of a hermit life in some remote and uninhabited isle, had of course precedents and examples enough among the Celtic saints. Isolation, semi-starvation, lacerating the body with hardship, were accounted forms of spiritual discipline, though the results of such discipline are doubtful. Purity of mind is not necessarily the fruit of enfeebling the body. At first the mode was to confine oneself in a circular stone-built hut within or near the precincts of the crowded monastery. Such a hut, 'of hard, narrow stone,' was a *carcair*, a word which is the Irish form of the Latin *carcer*, a prison. Ruins of such buildings are still found on monastic sites in the western isles. A verse on Ultan of Arbreccan vividly summarises some pious ordeals of the painfully holy :

A *carcair* for his lean side
And a bath in cold water
In the sharp wind he loved.

It was a refinement of incarceration when enthusiasts extended their ambitions to an intenser seclusion in some lonely island wholly apart from all human companionship ; such a place, when luck brought the drifting coracle to its inhospitable shore, they hailed as a *diseart*, adopting the name which the hermits of the East had popularised, for in the veritable 'desart' these had been wont to find their places of retirement. From this usage have sanctified names come to dignify little islands in the west. 'Holy Isle' was the *diseart* of Molaise, and no other reason than the pious passion for such places need be supposed to have brought him thither, whatever truth there may be in the romantic story of his great refusal. 'If it be a lie as told by me, it was a lie as told to me' (*Ma's breug bh'uam e, is breug thugam*).

How long he remained in his island by Arran, with a cramped cave for shelter and discomfort as his bedfellow, we do not know. Thereafter he journeyed to Rome on two occasions, and was ordained successively priest and bishop. It is disappointing to find him, in contrast with his old master Fintan, a champion of Roman usages against those of the Celtic Church. The rest of his career belongs to Ireland, where he became Abbot of Leithglinn in Leinster, continuing his display of miraculous powers; in which office he died on April 18, 639 or 640, that day of the month being sanctified to his memory.¹ There is some trifling doubt about the exact date, but that does not pertain to the present connection. The 'flame' was for ever extinguished, but its pale reflection still gilds with religious and historic interest the lofty, lumpy bulk of the Holy Island. For centuries occasional pilgrims made their way to the bare shrine and scratched a cross upon its stones; even curious Norsemen, as we have seen, have left traces of their presence; the dead were entrusted to the sanctity of its neighbourhood till an untimely accident induced a termination of the practice.² But only something like a convulsion of nature is ever likely to root out the memory of the Saint of Lamlash,

Molaise, a flame of fire,
With his comely choristers,
Abbot of Rath-cille and King of the fire,
Son of Mathgemm of Monad.³

'A certain very old ancient vellum book states that Molaise of Leithghlinn was, in his manners and life, like Boniface the pope.'⁴ The ancient book does not say which of the seventh-century popes of that name it has in mind, but

¹ The *Annals of Ulster* say he 'rested' in 639 (638 of text, a year behind normally).

² See p. 75.

³ Monad or Monadh was near Loch Crinan—a Dalriadic strength.

⁴ *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 107.

doubtless it was Boniface v. (619-625), who is erroneously associated in the Life with the ordination of Molaise, and who, as we see in the pages of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, took an active interest in the conversion of the English. He has been described as 'the mildest of men,' in which respect, we may judge, Molaise showed at least one point of similarity.

It was no doubt the association with Molaise that, much later, induced the foundation of a house of friars upon the island, the site of the buildings being on the inner side about a mile from the sacred cave, on the slightly sloping ground and level where are now farmhouse and farm. Quite likely this religious establishment was the beginning of cultivation at this, almost the only possible spot, which latter fact again would have determined its position. Apart from its mere existence nothing is known, and even its character is somewhat doubtful. According to one source, Ranald, 'king of the Isles and Argyll,' founded the monastic order or 'rule of Molaise,' which would place the date somewhere about the close of the twelfth century.¹ But the Dean of the Isles, Donald Monro, expressly records (1549) that in the 'little ile callit the yle of Molass—there was foundit by Johne, Lord of the Isles, ane monastery of friars, which is decayit.' It is not strictly accurate to speak of a house of friars as a monastery, for friars were not monks, and it seems a strange place for friars anyhow, who were a town not a country inhabiting order. Still, Dean Monro must have known what he was talking about. For this reason, the attribution to Lord John must be given the preference, all the more if we have to do with friars, as these did not reach Scotland till early in the century after that of Reginald. If so, the

¹ 'Book of Clanranald' in *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. ii. pp. 156-7 ('ase fos do chumdiugh ord riaghalt mholaisi'). This is the opinion accepted in vol. i. p. 252 and by M'Arthur, p. 163. The rest of M'Arthur's account is a complex of errors. He has given the 'monastery' grants of land of which there is no record in the sources he cites, and of these sources one refers to the Abbey of Paisley and the other to that of Saddell!

founder was in all likelihood the first of the lords of that name, the 'good John of Islay,' who died in 1380. And the foundation, as such, can have no nominal relationship with Molaise, save in as far as the island had been by him made sacred ground. No further record of this establishment survives. It may possibly have served as a hospice for pilgrims to the saint's cave, of which it was certain to make full ecclesiastical use. And it must soon have secured patronage as a 'sanctuary' or common place of burial, as Iona was for the great, a service to which ground in its vicinity was still being put, it is said, even late in the eighteenth century. The story of how this practice came to an end is not unusual: 'a sudden squall of wind overset an overloaded boat, and drowned seven people attending a funeral procession.'¹ Within a generation or so, if this point of time be accepted, other intrusions were being thriftfully made in the same soil, though the shortness of the interval is rather discreditable. 'In 1835 the tombstones were removed, and a crop of onions and carrots was raised over the graves of the dead.'² The legend of how a flickering light directed the disconsolate to a new place of burial round the church of Kilbride is a normal piece of folk-invention. Over the dust of the rude forefathers of Lamplash the corn grows green on Holy Isle.

The churches, chapels, and ecclesiastical sites of the island, in respect of their structures and relics, have been described exhaustively in the first volume.³ Here only some general notices, more historic in character, are called for.

The dedications of the churches divide into two main groups; that comprising Celtic saints, whose application

¹ Headrick's *View of Arran* (1807), p. 82. M'Arthur says this happened 'about eighty years ago' (p. 163); the date on his second edition is 1873. A similar story is told of burials at Kilpatrick, Shisken, from Ireland. Cf. vol. i. p. 229.

² M'Arthur, p. 164; *New Statistical Account*, vol. v., 'a modern utilitarian' the offender is there called.

³ Vol. i. p. 220 ff.

may be allotted to the time during which the Celtic Church flourished as a distinctive communion, that is before the early years of the eighth century, though some are possibly later; and that composed of other, mainly scriptural worthies, who are the hall-mark of Roman dominance. St. Blaise of the island of Pladda¹ may stand by himself; he was an Armenian martyr, to whom, however, there were altars in several parish churches in Scotland, as well as in St. Giles, Edinburgh, and in the cathedrals of Glasgow and Dunblane. But it is clear that in Arran the 'Kils' commemorate the 'cells,' in the sense of churches, associated with the saint whose name follows, even where no structural relic remains. The absence of a known Kil of Colum or Columba, and the presence of the other two of the great Celtic trio in Kilpatrick and Kilbride, show how strong was the more purely Irish ecclesiastical influence, for Bridget or Bride and Patrick are the national saints of Ireland,² as Columba is of Scotland. Patrick, real or legendary, is too well known to require anything to be said of him. Bridget, as Bride, is familiar over the whole western isles. This Christian lady, who was foundress and abbess of the monastery of Kildare in Ireland about the second half of the fifth century, owes, however, much of her sanctified popularity to confusion with an earlier Celtic goddess, whose name she bore, the Brigit who was the threefold goddess of poetry, of medicine, and of smith work. Her adorers took on the new love without quite putting off the old. The same thing happens in the case of the archangel Michael (not, of course, of the Celtic order), whom we find dignifying Glen Cloy and Clachan in the Shisken district,³ and who is also an intimate figure in the western isles. He is generally decked out with the older attributes of Brian, son of Brigit, another of a

¹ *Scotichronicon*, edit. Goodall, lib. i. cap. vi., lib. ii. cap. x.; *Insula Sancti Blasii de Pladay*.

² Windisch, *Irische Texte*, p. 26.

³ Blaeu's Map.

male trinity presiding over art and letters. Thus of this Michael-Brian in the west it can be said, as of Brian in *The Lady of the Lake*, 'Not his the mien of Christian priest.' Bridget is the 'Mary of the Gael' (*ir ise Brigit Maire na n' Goidel*) invoked in so many western Gaelic hymns and prayers; it is her older divinity that is clearly reflected in her honorific position among Celtic saints. She is spoken of as a mother of Christ (*ba óen mathair maic rí g mair*), who is also called her son, and she is equated with the Christian Virgin.¹ Thus, essentially, between Kilbride and Kilmorie, the two parishes of Arran, there is in significance little that is different, at least to the ancient Gaelic mind. There was a Kilbride chapel at Bennan also, the only southern offshoot from the parent church at Lamlash. Kildonan, in that quarter, commemorates the Donnan who suffered 'red martyrdom' at Eigg in 617. These exhaust the existing Celtic dedications. Less need be said of the scriptural or other saints, such as Blaise,² who mark the direction of Roman rule. Michael 'of the white steed' has been dealt with above: either Sannox or Loch Ranza adopted James the brother of Jesus. These are missions of the Romanised ecclesiasticism. In Kilmorie, South End, and St. Mary's at Slidderie we have dedications to the Mother, but Virgin dedications seem to be late in the west. No church was so named in Ireland till the twelfth century,³ though in Wales the practice was centuries earlier. There is room for inference that the Arran dedication is at least as late as any in Ireland.

Kilmorie, from its position and from the fact that it gave its name to one of the two parishes into which the island was divided, the other taking its name from the Lamlash

¹ Cf. *Irish Texts*, pp. 26-7, 63.

² The figure of the Abbot at Shisken is known to the people as that of 'St. Bolaise' or, in the genitive case, 'Volaise' (Bholaise). This has been usually taken to be for Molaise, but 'Blaise' may have something to say on the matter.

³ Petrie's *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland*, p. 173.

church of Kilbride, must have been from the first of almost equal ecclesiastical importance. The present church is on the Kilmorie water, beyond where Lag shelters in its fir plantings: west over the hills are the foundations of a St. Mary's on the Slidderie water, which quite possibly may have been the mediæval church.¹ What is to be noted is that our earliest reference to Arran parochialism gives a Sir Maurice as 'vicar of Arran,' in a confirmation, as usual then, undated, but apparently of about 1294.² 'Sir' (*dominus*) is merely the honourable title of a priest; it signified in this connection a 'Pope's knight,' not a lay dignitary. It was like our modern Rev., but used only in the case of one who did not boast a university degree. That he was merely a vicar indicates that some other person or corporation—we shall meet the latter case presently—held the rectorship or was parson proper, drawing the stipend and possessed of full parochial rights, but delegating his local duties to a substitute or 'vicar.' This was a common practice; it being also too common to have this duty cheaply done, even in the magnificent thirteenth century, by an illiterate hireling. What is also remarkable is the description 'vicar of Arran,' as if the whole island was but one parish. Clearly, however, his parish church would be Kilbride. If the whole island was but one parish and could claim but a single vicar, Kilmorie can scarcely have counted for much, yet we shall see that, when we do touch its records, it was a really good living, worthy of a vicar, at least, of its own. It is, on these terms, a possible inference that its foundation was then, at best, but recent and inconsiderable. Who was rector of Arran there is nothing to say. Nor can it be fixed when the island was divided into two parishes; some time late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century may be guessed;

¹ Vol. i. pp. 227-8.

² *Registrum de Monaster. de Passelet* (Maitland Club), p. 129; cf. Table of Contents for date.

probably as a result of its definite annexation to the kingdom of Scotland. The line of division is significant ; it runs irregularly from north to south, from Loch Ranza to Dippin, following the higher ground of the watershed ; and while the mother church of the one, at Kilbride, is roughly central, that of the other, Kilmorie, is at the southern extremity. The motive of this form of parochial division is obviously the same as in the case of the early bishoprics ; communication was easiest by water, and certainly easier along the shore margin ; cross-wise Arran is stiffly barred by its mountain ridge : even now only two main roads, from Brodick and Lamlash, venture over the passes that separate adjoining glens. Intermediary chapels gave some ease, but the respective parsons must have found themselves in the difficulty of Chaucer's model : ' Wyd was his parisshe, and houses fer asonder,' at least if they possessed that parson's excellent qualities of character and conscience.

Of both parishes the early records are most scanty, particularly in the case of Kilbride. Apparently the plain little church we now see in a roofless, dilapidated condition was not that in which Sir Maurice served as vicar, for, as far as can be judged, it seems to be of the following century, the fourteenth. No doubt its position has some bearing on the situation of the earlier village, not the lean long line that is modern Lamlash, but the 'kirk-toun of Kilbride,' probably scattered rather about the mouth of the shallow depression through which runs the highway to Brodick ; and the building would have to serve that hamlet too. In those days church-going was less of a popular function, more of an intermittent ritualistic duty. Birth and marriage and death called for the attentions of Holy Kirk ; the great determining festivals, Christmas and Easter, demanded observance ; devout individuals, the sacred rites themselves, needed no congregational countenance before the altar ; holy days were holi-days ; round the precincts of the building, rather

than within, gathered the neighbours in numbers, and no pews limited the interior space. Sermons were rarer delights. Then, as now, on clear spring days of Easter the Arran folk would look up the strath on the horn-like peaks of Ben Nuis and Goat Fell, the crossing ridge of Tarsuinn and the jagged edge of the Cir, where they lifted over the sky-line in dry colours of clear pastel richness. Possibly the humble building was in existence when, in 1326, Sir Benedict was 'rector of the Church of Arram' (*sic*),¹ in the days of Bruce. We observe that the island was still, seemingly, but a single parish. Thirty years later we have notice of the two churches, which now, for a time, suffer the fate of so many parish churches, in being handed over to swell the revenues of a great ecclesiastical corporation.

Over the water and a little beyond was the Abbey of Kilwinning, whose 'Winnin,' Welsh Gwynnyn, is (Reeves) or is not (Skene) to be identified with St. Finnan, a saint of county Down, and which owed its foundation, it is told, towards the close of the twelfth century, to one of the De Morevilles, Lords of Lauderdale and Cunningham. But the chartulary has not survived, and of date and founder nothing certain can be said.² Its original monks, of the Tironensian order, reformed, that is stricter, Benedictines, had apparently been brought from Kelso. Local magnates, as the way was, added to its endowments from time to time, here a property, there a parish church or so of which they owned the patronage or advowson, the relevancy of which endowment lay in the fact that a cure of souls represented so much income. The monastery became the rector of the church and discharged its duties through a vicar or member of its own body. Now among the patrons of Kilwinning appears John de Menteith,³ lord of Arran and Knapdale, who, in 1357, for the salvation

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. i. p. 52.

² See *Archæological Collections relating to Ayr and Wigtown*, vol. i., 1878.

³ The Earl of Menteith of a previous generation is among its principal benefactors.

of his own soul and the soul of his late spouse Katherine, and the salvation of the souls of his ancestors and successors, granted to God, the blessed Virgin, the blessed saint Winnin and the monastery of Kilwinning in Cunningham, the abbot and monks serving there now and for ever, the right of provision and appointment of the churches of St. Mary and St. Brigid of the island of Arran, with their chapels and all other goods and lands pertaining to the said churches with their chapels, or in any way likely to pertain in time to come, to be held by the said monastery and monks as a clear and perpetual almsgiving—that is, free of ordinary burdens.¹ To this charter, confirmed by David I. in the same year, and again as late as the reign of Robert III., Sir Bean, rector of St. Mary's, or Kilmorie, is one witness, and William de Foulartoun another.² How long the abbey retained these rights, or why they lost them, we do not know, but, in the grant of 1503 to Lord Hamilton, with the lands of Arran is included the advowson of the churches and chapels of the island, henceforward then again a lay property, and so till the Reformation. But for more than a century at least the monks had the ecclesiastical interests of the island under their charge, and some of their impress can still perhaps be traced in the names of Kelso and Kerr (Carr), even Mark Kerrs, Mark being a favourite Christian name of that Border family, that one deciphers upon the tombstones that crowd the slope of Kilbride kirkyard or the beautiful site at Loch Ranza. These names must originally have been sown by Border wayfarers along the line of communication from the parent house at Kelso on the Tweed, through Kilwinning to its dependents in Arran : ³ stray leaves of names on the obscure flow of history.

There is more material and variety in some scrappy records of Kilmorie, which are, moreover, typical of much

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, s.d., No. 86.

² *Robertson's Index*, p. 145.

³ Both names are known also in Bute of old.

that went on up and down Scotland, in the chaffering of parish churches considered primarily as sources of income. These notices are contained in petitions to the Pope for the time being by the Scottish Ambassador at the Papal Court. Most of them, being of the close of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, apply to the anti-Pope of these days, the rival of the Italianate Pope chosen at Rome, who had residence either at Avignon in the south of France or at Barcelona on the north-east coast of Spain. These two countries supported the pontiff who made his home with them, and, as England acknowledged the Pope at Rome, Scotland inevitably took the opposite side with its ally France. Several characteristic difficulties arose about the occupation of Kilmorie, and it is this local friction that has left us some sparks of light on how things went there. The income of St. Mary's amounted to from £18 to £20, which was pretty fair, when we consider that the minimum salary for a vicar was fixed by a Scottish Synod of the thirteenth century at 10 marks, or £6, 13s. 4d., free of all charges. Beyond this, of course, there was the margin that went to the rector. Kilmorie's £20 was the rectorial sum,¹ the total stipend at most. We have seen that in 1357 a Bean was rector, and another of the same name, as it must be, filled the office before 1391. He is *Beanus Johannis*, Bean John's-son or MacIan, though we are here dealing only with a patronymic not a regular surname. Bean was not wholly exemplary as a celibate priest, for we shall see he left a son, a not unusual peccadillo of the mediæval clergy. He, nevertheless, was promoted to be archdeacon of the Isles, the honour next to that of bishop, and, as he had not procured a papal dispensation to hold both appointments, the rectorship became vacant. It was thus applied for and obtained by Nigel Cambell (Campbell) of the diocese of Dun-

¹ The stipend of Kilmorie at the close of the eighteenth century was £70, exclusive of manse and glebe (*Statistical Account*).

blane, who was apparently a by-product of the Argyll family, for he must be rid by dispensation of his bar to holy orders in being 'the natural son of a married nobleman.'¹ Campbell's successor apparently was John Clerk's-son (Clerici), whose name betrays his parentage, for he was the son of a clerk or cleric, while he himself fell short of all a priest should be, aggravating his offence by being also a 'scholar of canon law,' who should have known better. It was reported of him that, despite his position, he was not ordained priest for two years, a not uncommon delinquency either, and further that he had had unbecoming relations with his housekeeper,² though this seems to be an Irvine not an Arran affair. In March 1405 appears a confirmation of his appointment to the perpetual vicarage of Irvine, that is a vicarage from which he could not be removed by his rector, the Cathedral of Glasgow; a preferment worth 30 marks, which was just the figure of St. Mary's which he professes himself ready to resign. Later in the same year he is granted his petition to hold with St. Mary's a benefice in the gift of the bishop, prior, and chapter of St. Andrews. What exactly happened with Kilmoreie cannot be made out. First we have an application in the same year by Richard de Cornel, 'licentiate of canon law,' of noble birth, who already held a chaplaincy, 'of small value,' he explains, as well as the perpetual vicarage of St. Mary's, for the rectory of the same, which dispensation and confirmation are granted. As there was a vicar, it would appear that the rector was non-resident, took to do with nothing but the stipend. It is further explained that the rectory is vacant because Clerkson has got the vicarage of Irvine. But for precisely the same reason, later in the year, we have it granted to Duncan MacBean (Beani) to hold the rectory of St. Mary, value £15, 'notwithstanding that the petitioner

¹ 'Calendar of Entries' in *Papal Registers*, vol. 73, pp. 575-6.

² 'Cum quadam sua comatre concubuit,' *ibid.*, vol. 83, p. 595.

is dispensed as the son of a priest.' The priest in question is in all probability the Bean MacIan who occupied the place about sixteen years before. There were thus two claimants for the vacancy, and two years later it is urged on behalf of a third candidate that Richard de Cornel had 'unlawfully' held the rectory during that time.¹ This new candidate is John Christianson (Christini), who is also perpetual vicar of 'Kilcherran' in Argyll, and is dispensed as the son of a priest. Kilmorie seems to have had a streak of ill-luck in its occupants and to be fair game for what John Knox would call a 'priest's gett.' But Cornel was not a lawyer for nothing: he exchanged St. Mary's with Ingram of 'Ketenesse' (Kettins, Forfarshire) for the archdeaconry of Dunkeld. Ingram was dead in about a year, and Richard was then getting ready to step into the shoes of the dying archdeacon of Lothian, 'who is now on a sick bed.'²

After this a long gap; so broken are the threads of our story. When again we catch a stray gleam on Kilmorie, this also comes from the papal court and from Rome. It is an instruction, dated July 1433, to the Abbot of St. Columba's, Iona, to collate and assign the rectory of the parish church of Kilmorie to Maurice MacNeill, who is also to be allowed to continue in his present rectory of Kilblane in Argyll. Strictly he takes the place of Godfrey Lamont, after whose death the place had been so long vacant that the patronage had lapsed to the Apostolic See, that is the Pope. This was a restriction placed on the practice of keeping livings vacant over long, so that the patron proper himself drew the stipend or a bigger share of it. In the present case we find that Dugald M'Molmicheyl (*i.e.* son of the 'slave' or 'tonsured one' of Michael) has meantime 'unduly obtained possession' and must be removed.³

Between this time and the Reformation of 1560 but one

¹ *Papal Registers*, vol. 99, p. 635.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 99, p. 638.

³ *Calendar of State Papers: Papal Letters*, vol. viii. p. 473.

name rises to the surface at St. Mary's, that of rector Walter Kennedy, M.A. (therefore styled Master), in 1483.¹ The rest is silence. Somehow or other—we have seen examples of how—the necessary rites were performed and religious instruction conveyed, and let us hope things went better in the blank years and beneath the surface. As in so much history, it is only the questionable and mischievous that has left its traces; the good is too smooth and unexciting for remark; so may it have been with St. Mary's of Arran.

How precisely the ecclesiastical properties of the parishes, manses, glebe-lands and teinds were affected by the Reformation we cannot say; what still remains is probably, as in other parts, but a portion. Nor can anything be said as to ecclesiastical provision for education, if any such there was. Nor of what happened to the monastic property on Holy Isle, whatever that may have been. On these questions we can only conjecture. Some knowledge, however, we do possess as to the destination of the only abbey lands on the island; such lands became more easily and obviously the perquisites of the local or the new nobility. There was no place for abbeys in the reformed church. But even before the Reformation noble houses were taking time by the forelock and anticipating the disintegration that was to come. When Reginald, son of Somerled, who, as the later royalist scribe puts it, 'called himself King of the Isles,' founded in the twelfth century the monastery of Saddell in Kintyre, just across the water, he gifted it, among its other possessions, with twenty marklands of the lands of Shisken,² a fair property in a broad alluvial plain of the middle west, which

¹ *Registrum Magni Sigilli*. The term Margnaheglish ('the "mark" of the church'), in two examples, has suggested this name being a relic of Church property. Cf. 'The ground at Lochranzay lying round the kirk called Margnahaglish' (*Burrel's Journal*, 1772). But we have already seen 'Marcynegles,' Lamlash, part of the king's lands in the fifteenth century (p. 39). The church seems to have been only the distinguishing feature of such land. Cf. on 'mark,' p. 14, note 2.

² *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1508.

is one of the most fertile districts in the island. The monks of Saddell were white-clothed Cistercians, a reformed institution of the Benedictines or black monks who were known from Kilwinning on the east side. The effigy of an Abbot of Saddell is one of the treasured relics of this outlying estate of the monastery : ¹ he must have had some close connection with Shisken, was perhaps a native. There need be no wonder that the eyes of the Hamiltons were cast upon this convenient and desirable bit of property. And as in the case of other noble families, they found the occasion provided by the presence of a member of the clan in the bishopric of Argyll and the Isles. Thus four years before the distributing upheaval of the Reformation this Bishop James Hamilton, with consent of the chapter, transferred to James Duke of Chatelherault and Earl of Arran, the lands of Saddell monastery in feu-farm for a yearly duty of 49 marks (£32, 13s. 4d.).² Of this feu the Shisken proportion came to £27, 6s. 8d. Apparently, however, there was some difficulty about Shisken, for James MacDonald of Dunyveg, as we have seen already, had or claimed to have 'rycht and kindness'³ to these lands with others in Arran. In return for the surrender of this claim the Duke infefted him in all the Kintyre lands of the monastery, under the obligations to the bishop specified in the original charter.⁴ The Reformation thus found the intriguing Duke already planted in the vale of Shisken. That things were not going smoothly between him and his Arran tenantry is suggested by the terms of a significant bond between himself and a MacAlister, dated at the Castle of Brodick, 25th November 1563. 'Angus M'Rannald Moir M'Allister' is leased in the 'fourtie schilling aucht penny worth land of Kilpatrick and Drumgriner

¹ Vol. i. p. 233, etc.

² *Hist. MSS.*, 'Hamilton Papers,' p. 222; Fourth Report, 'Argyll Papers,' p. 480.

³ *I.e.* the right of a 'kindly tenant.'

⁴ *De Rebus Albanicis*, pp. 83-9.

(Drumaghiner) land within his gracis landis of Seskene, Ile and erldome of Arrane,' on promise to be an obedient tenant and to maintain the bailie and captain of the Isle, and if the Duke shall 'flit and remove ony of his tennentis furtht of his landis within the said Ile in ony tymes cuming and the saidis tennentis beand dissobedient and will nocht remove thairfra without thae be compellit,' in such a case MacAlister binds himself to assist the Duke's officers 'to put the saidis rebellis and dissobeyaris furtht of the said Ile and hald thame furtht of the samin.'¹ In other words, part of the old abbey lands were to maintain a henchman of the Earl of Arran; the Hamiltons, in fact, as other events show, had struck an alliance with the MacAlisters. The possible trouble with tenantry is another indication of the fact that rack-renting, evictions, and resistance to evictions were phenomena already familiar in Scotland; very likely there had been Arran incidents. But the main fact which concerns us is that the Shisken abbey-lands have dropped like an alms into the capacious wallet of the chief proprietorial family. In 1615 there is a further charter of the lands of 'Ceskin, Saddell, etc.,' to James Marquis of Hamilton and his heirs, by Andrew, Bishop of Argyll, the Protestant bishop.² There is now no burden of feu. Similarly, what there may have been of church land in Sannox fell to the Montgomerys of Skelmorlie,³ who held Sannox with their Loch Ranza estates.

¹ *Hist. MSS.*, xi., 'Hamilton Papers,' App. vi. p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, iv., 'Argyll Papers,' p. 480. In 1607 David Creychtoun of Lugtoun was served heir to his father Patrick Creychtoun in the lands of 'Saxan' (Shisken) in the island of Arrane, of the old extent of 18 marks, in warrandice of certain lands in Stirling (*Orig. Puroch.* citing *Retours*). The bearing of this transaction cannot be traced.

³ It is repeatedly stated, as *e.g.* by Chalmers in *Caledonia*, vol. vii. p. 36, in his account of Buteshire, that the land from Corrie round to Loch Ranza was ecclesiastical, having been granted to Kilwinning Abbey; but no reference is ever given, and the statement cannot be verified.

CHAPTER VI

ARRAN IN POLITICS

Arran in the 'Troubles'—stray glimpses of its life—feud and foray—purchases at Ayr—terror of the MacDonalds—strategic importance for Scotland and Ireland—a refuge and a prison—crime in Arran—the Hamiltons become hereditary Justiciars—deforcing the King's messenger at Brodick—the story of Patrick Hamilton—the M'Alisters again—the Commonwealth; foray by the Campbells—Cromwell's garrison in Arran—the Duchess Anne—Arran men in the Forty-five.

I

THE century and a quarter which lies between the Reformation of 1560 and the Revolution in 1688 was a time big with events—with domestic 'troubles,' religious and constitutional change, civil war and partisan oppression; the time of the Protestant development, the struggle between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy, that between King and Covenant, and the resistance of the Covenanters under Charles II., ending with a forcible change of dynasty and succession, when William of Orange ousted the last of the male Stewarts to hold the throne. No part of the country but would feel the throb of such movements, yet the record, as it affects the people of Arran, has little that is direct or personal. Nothing individual can be said, for example, of their ecclesiastical sympathies; we can only infer that they followed the lead of their superiors; and the Hamiltons, Montgomerys, and Stewarts entered the fold of Protestantism, no doubt, like others, bringing their flocks of tenantry with them. We have no knowledge of sufferers under the Covenant in

Arran :¹ on this issue there was uncertainty of judgment and difference of action among the proprietors. The Eglinton family continued its Protestant fervour into activity for the cause of the Covenants : the Hamilton 'surname was wasted' in its devotion to Charles II. before the Restoration as it had been for adherence to the cause of Queen Mary, yet the Duke of the latter half of the seventeenth century was to be the chief agent, on behalf of Scotland, in supplanting King James with William of Orange.² But of what the actual thoughts and convictions of the people themselves were at any stage, not a word. Only here and there, at wide intervals, do we get a passing glimpse on the life of the island.

Much, of course, they had to do and suffer at the bidding of their masters, for whose political offences they are scourged. The three leading families had their own local jealousies as well as differences in state affairs. The sixteenth century is stained with a Doulgas-Hamilton feud among the many others, and this occasionally involved the Arran Stewarts, in the clan interest as friends of the Douglasses, against the Hamiltons. In such a case the game was to make a grab at Brodick Castle, just as it was the game of external enemies to hit the Hamiltons by worrying Arran. We have already had one example of the Stewarts occupying the island fortress. Another occurs in 1528, the year of the Douglas downfall after their brief tyranny over James V. It no doubt helped to family bitterness that Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, in a fight at Linlithgow in 1526, had slain the Earl of Lennox, a Stewart, in cold blood. Anyhow we find western members of the clan upholding the Douglas side against the King and the Earl of Arran, who had made the usual political

¹ In Woodrow's list of fines imposed in 1662 upon compliers with the Commonwealth Government we find, under Buteshire, Donald and Neil MacNeil of Kilmore, and these have by some been attributed to Arran, but they are really of the well-known MacNeil(l) family of Kilmore in Bute.

² There had been, of course, a change of family in the interval. This Duke was a Douglas. See p. 109.

change in good time. Two sons of the Sheriff of Bute, who, as we have seen, held lands in Arran, had seized the castle of Brodick (Braidwik), slain its keeper George Tait, and burned and destroyed 'the Castle and Place.' These were Archibald and Robert Stewart, who thereafter found refuge in Galloway, where their 'M'Dowell' hosts were prosecuted for hospitality to rebels 'at the horn.'¹

Of such diversions of the island loneliness a more serious example of the external type has already been alluded to, when the Earl of Lennox in 1544, acting for Henry VIII., made his foray on the Firth of Clyde; Lennox, too, having found himself politically outplayed by the Hamilton family. One of his comrades on this occasion was a certain 'Thomas Byschop,' who has reason later on to recall to the mind of Queen Elizabeth's minister, William Cecil, his 'exploettes (exploits) done at Arrane, Bewte, Dynnone in Argill,' for which he was, at Boulogne, embraced by the fat king himself and accorded a pension.² Bishop, be it noted, was like Lennox a Scot, being of Ochiltree in Ayrshire; wherefore he, too, like the Earl, was forfeited by the Scottish parliament, a consolation which may or may not have reached the ears of his victims. A like adventure is reported to the Queen (Mary of England) in September of 1558, when the Earl of Sussex proceeded with a squadron of ships from Dublin to Kintyre, where he 'burned the hole Cantyre; from thens (he) went to Arren and did the lyke there,' and so to the Cumbraes, sustaining, however, some loss by the sudden rising of 'a terrybell tempeste,'³ just as Hakon of Norway had once done in the same season and place. The houses and humble gear of a defenceless peasantry go up in flames—these are the 'exploits'; and the regardless politicians and their tools fall into each other's arms with

¹ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 139.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, Scottish Series, vol. i. No. 1076.

³ *Ibid.*, Irish Series (1509-73), p. 149.

delight! Too much history has been made of this sort.

Less notice would be taken of another set of transactions, which nevertheless lie closer to the foundations of social life: under the however ruffled surface the steady tide of sheer human sustenance must flow. Thus not beneath respect are these commonplace hints on the island life in the late sixteenth century. Ayr is then a market for foreign and home merchants, whence local needs may be supplied from foreign imports. Buyers, in presence of a notary and witness, enter a pledge or bill to pay, and the notary registers the same. From such a book we glean the following transactions for Arran. On June 18, 1583, Matthew Stewart in 'Kirkpatrick' and his mother 'actit to pay' to Adam Stewart, a local importer, seven score marks in March next for wine just bought. On July 1, 'Alaster Stewart'—place in Arran a blank—binds himself in fifty marks for wines bought from a burgess of Ayr. It is possibly the same Alaster 'in the Bennane' who, about six weeks later, acknowledges £24 to be paid before Michaelmas, on account of cloth, to Adam Stewart. Apparently it is a renewal of this bill which is entered on August 20, since the amount and goods are the same, but it is noted that £6 are 'ressavit in hand.' But another Alaster Stewart on a similar business hails from 'Glenskordill,' having, on August 15, bought wine to the value of seventy-five marks, and twenty-four shillings worth of salt.¹ These goods were no doubt, in all cases, for distribution by sale in the south end, which thus procured some at least of its necessities of life. The intolerable deal of wine, in proportion to the other things, may be explained by the fact that these others could be procured at home, though of inferior quality. The imported stuff probably all came from France.

¹ 'Notarial Note-Book of John Mason' in *Archæol. and Hist. Collections relating to Ayrshire and Galloway*, vol. vi. pp. 220, etc.

These lights for the earlier period. One other glimpse falls on a period nearly a century later, among the first Covenanting troubles. In September of 1645 Montrose had been crushed at Philiphaugh, after a year of dramatic and overwhelming success against the levies of the Covenant. One name only had carried more terror than his own, that of 'Allaster' MacDonald, of the Dunyveg house, the 'young Colkitto' whose 'rugged name' is embalmed in Milton's sonnet. After the disastrous end to the campaign he returned to his own land, and the dread of him is well shown in a letter which the Countess of Eglinton sends on December 23 from Eglinton to her husband, Alexander Montgomery, the Earl, owner of Sannox and Loch Ranza. She is anxious because he is staying so long on parliamentary business, while she is under apprehension that Alister will 'come ower and tak all that (he) can gett and burne the rest.' She wishes him to advise her, for (she writes) 'I assur you they ar looking everi night for him in Arrane, for man, wyf and bairne is coming ower to this syd (Ayrshire), and all ther goods that they can gett transportit, both out of Arrane and Bute; for he (Allaster) is veri strong, and I feir we find er it be long.'¹ It would seem to have been a false alarm; but it is obvious that the Arran people were regarded as foes to the cause of Montrose. At any rate the Hamiltons were down; the head of the house was 'wavering, incompetent, a Mr. Facing-Bothways';² Montrose had refused to have anything to do with them. His brother openly joined the Covenanters, and Montgomery had always been of that party. Hence, as usual, Arran must suffer.

But apart from or in addition to the political direction of its lords, the island from its position alone was committed to a share in any great movements in the west; as already has been shown. It was a convenient base for action in

¹ *Hist. MSS. Commission*, Earl of Eglinton, No. 155.

² *Lang's History of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 111.

Scotland or in Ireland; this was its strategic importance. An illustration of the former relationship occurs in the time of Queen Mary, who had just abdicated in favour of her infant son and was in custody at Loch Leven. The Spanish ambassador reports to his master (February 1568) that Dumbarton Castle is in the hands of a gentleman favourable to the Queen, and that 'By this way, and by the isle of Arran which lies in the bay at the mouth of the Clyde, an entrance could be effected into the country, if the French wished to liberate the Queen.' He adds: 'Arran is in the hands of the Hamiltons';¹ and the Hamiltons were by this time her champions. But the plan perished with Mary's defeat at Langside in May of the same year.

From its position we can also understand the English wish to enlist aid from Arran, as well as Kintyre, in operations against the rebel Earl of Tyrone, at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Macleans and MacDonalds had personal reasons for interference, but we find also expectations of Irish service from the Stewarts of the west and the Hamiltons, for the reason that from their parts 'the rebel may be most annoyed.' In 1600 Elizabeth's chief minister of state recommends 'the Hamiltons Scots . . . for Knockfergus, with their follows out of the Isle of Arran.'² King James of Scotland was no doubt an approving party, but nothing came of it all. But in 1602 an English agent is affirming that he has 'sutche frindes dwelling in the Ylle of Arran' as will do her Majesty all the service they can in getting 'intelligence from about Tyrone to passe throwe Kintyre to Arron and so to Carlell (Carlisle).'³ These were very likely the MacDonalds of the south end and their relatives in Kintyre. James VI. succeeded to the heritage of Irish troubles, and in 1608 he

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, 'Simancas Archives,' vol. ii. p. 11.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, Irish Series (1600), pp. 118-19.

³ *Border Papers*, vol. ii. p. 793.

too is taking measures on the west, when the Earl of Abercorn, in the absence of his relative the Marquis of Hamilton, is enjoined to have 'the castellis and fortressis in Arrane . . . weele gairdit and provydit' to withstand any attack, and any Irish rebels that come that way arrested.¹

The last case shows us the other side of the shield—Arran, from its insular remoteness a place of retreat. After the assassination of the Regent Murray by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh in 1570, it is reported to Queen Elizabeth that the Hamiltons 'keep the murderer sometimes in their company and sometimes in the Duke's house in Arran.'² The Duke himself was to find a ready refuge there when, in May of the same year, he and his party abandoned the siege of Glasgow at the approach of an English force; he and the Abbot of Kilwinning passing to Arran, the others also homewards, 'and so every man to his own dwelling.'³ Long after, another royalist of the family, the second Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Lanark, supporting Charles II. but at odds with the Kirk, is expected to be confined for a time to the Isle of Arran, 'where he may live like a prince.' As a 'maligerant' or royalist he had to find retirement there from the time of his coming over with Charles in May 1650 till January 1651. An English historian of the century says that he 'had a little house well enough accomodated (*i.e.* Brodick Castle), the island for the most part inhabited with wild beasts.'⁴ He died from a wound on the fatal field of Worcester later in the year, September 1651. A different sort of guest had been committed to the island in 1606, when the Rev. Robert Youngson, one of the defiant members of the 'pretended' Assembly at Aberdeen the year before,

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. p. 498. The Earl of Abercorn was eldest son of Lord Paisley, third son of the Duke of Chatelherault (died 1575). The Marquis was the son of Lord John, first Marquis, and so Abercorn's first cousin.

² *Calendar of State Papers, Scottish Series*, vol. iii. p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 182, 192.

⁴ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, xiii. 2.

was for his contumacy condemned to confinement within the bounds of Arran; but of his entertainment we hear nothing. Thus may such an island as ours be alternatively a city of refuge and a prison.

II

Another side of island history comes much into prominence during the unsettled times that preceded and followed on the Union of the Crowns in 1603, but it was not peculiarly a characteristic of Arran; it marked the course of affairs in the country as a whole. With so much chopping and changing in religion and political parties, with so much violence in high places, it is no wonder that law and order should be clouded over and disregarded. Hence an increase of crime, which, too often, was merely a sort of party politics, and of this Arran had its share. There are earlier indications, but in 1608 we are definitely apprised that the crimes of murder, mutilation, theft, and reset of theft have become 'verie frequent' in the island.¹ A few years later the list runs to 'theft, slaughter, murder, mutilation, witchcraft, and sorning,'² with 'pykrie'³ as a further annoyance.

We have already had some light on the forms of jurisdiction there. As part of Buteshire it was within the sphere of the Stewart sheriffs. The Earl had by charter baronial rights over his own lands, and the coronership of the Fullartons has already been explained. These were important magistral powers, dealing with all petty cases and in certain of these going far. The owner of a barony, usually acting through his bailie, had considerable police powers, as far as hanging for theft, and the sheriff might exercise, as the royal representative, the highest jurisdiction short of dealing with

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. viii. p. 105.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 125. 'Sorning' is imposing oneself as a guest without invitation for an indefinite period.

³ Petty theft.

treason. The baron's bailie in Arran, it is recorded, 'has power to fine as high as twenty shillings; can decide in matters of property not exceeding forty shillings; can imprison for a month; and put delinquents into the stocks for three hours, but that only during daytime.'¹ But in theory the 'four pleas of the Crown'—murder, robbing, rape, and fire-raising—were in the province of the King's Justiciary on circuit, and the circuit court for Arran was allotted to either Ayr or the head burgh of the shire in Bute, in which latter place also the sheriff court would sit. This, it will be understood, was not a very convenient arrangement for the parties, and, so far as the justiciary courts were concerned, special commissions were often given to particular persons to deal with the more serious crime in Arran on the spot, usually to a proprietor. Thus in 1548 we find a commission of justiciarship to Thomas Montgomery of Skelmorlie 'within bounds of 21 librates of land of old extent of Lochransay and Sannokes.'²

In the opening years of the seventeenth century the state of things plainly called for some such direct handling of the problem. One good reason for the excess of crime is given as the absence of the Marquis, which is formulated in 1622 as 'the non-residence of the Marquis there,' to which is added the fact that 'neither he nor his baillies there are authorised with powers of Justiciary.' The Privy Council take action in 1608 by granting a commission of justiciary over the island to the Earl of Abercorn, but in 1619 the commission is to the Marquis himself, with power to appoint deputies and hold circuit courts; crimes, it is noted, having become very frequent 'for want of such courts.' Again in 1622 we have a similar commission to the Marquis and his bailie, but for one year only. Nevertheless the practice

¹ Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, p. 178.

² *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. xviii. p. 434; twenty pound lands according to an old valuation for purposes of taxation.

must have been found convenient or the results good, for in 1633 the office of Justiciar over the whole island is fixed as hereditary in the family head, and in 1686 the 'heritable office of Justice-general within the Isle of Arran' is expressly reserved to the Duchess of the time and her heirs and successors; and a family dignity and property it remained till the Act of 1747 restored all such private or heritable jurisdictions to the Crown. The Duke claimed £3000 compensation for the Arran justiciarship, but was not allowed anything.

The baron-bailie referred to is the officer also known as Captain of Arran and Keeper of Brodick Castle. Such keepers there had always been: we have seen on a former page the salary of this post in the days of royal possession, when it was usually filled by a Stewart, probably of the sheriff's family. Now it is normally filled, as might be expected, by some one of the Hamilton surname. A detailed contract of 1593 gives ample instruction on the responsibilities and revenues of the office, and may here be inserted:

Lord Hamilton appoints John Hamilton captain and keeper of his castle of Brodick in Arran, and all his lands on the isle of Arran in the sherifffdom of Bute, for the space of one year from 'Alhallowmes' (1st November) last past, and thereafter during Lord Hamilton's pleasure. Lord Hamilton assigns and grants to the Captain for his service during his term of office the mains of Brodick, with the corn-mill, multures,¹ etc.; the mains of King's Cross;² the mains of Latter, and the mains called Glenschanttis, Over and Nether; the corn-mill of Kilbride, together with the bailiary of the whole lands of the isle of Arran; all to be enjoyed by the said John Hamilton, he paying yearly therefor, for the said mains the mails, hunting kine, marts and other duties formerly payable by the Captains of Arran. Lord Hamilton shall lay in or cause to lay into the Castle of Brodick between Yule and Candlemas next 8 bolls bear for the rents of the mains for crop 1593, 14 bolls meal for the rents of the two mills,

¹ Revenue from the mills to which tenants were bound to bring their corn.

² First mention of the name on record; the older Penny-cross.

12 bolls meal for the mains of King's Cross, 12 bolls of meal for the mains of Latter, and five bolls 3 firlots for the mains of Glenschanttis, all of same crop, as maintenance for the captain and his servants in the castle, for the first year; he shall also lay in to the castle weekly during that time four pecks meal for supporting two night-watches. In return the Captain shall diligently keep and defend the castle of Brodick and the whole isle of Arran, and the tenants and occupiers from all reif and oppression, and shall cause the rents and duties to be paid to Lord Hamilton. The latter shall further deliver to the Captain at Beltane (1st May, or perhaps put for Whitsunday) twelve tidy cows,¹ to be upon the mains of Brodick, in steelbow,² and to be forthcoming at the Captain's departure. Further the Captain shall receive from Lord Hamilton's servants 'twentie four hoigsheids of burdeous bind³ yeirle at Lambes dureing the tyme of his said office, at the brig of Glasgow with sex bollis greit salt sex bollis small salt and sall caus pas thairwith to the loches quhair the herring happinis to be tane and thair sall pact the said twentie four treis (barrels) with herring and thair efter sall send thame yeirle betwixt Michaelmas and Mertimes in my said lordis awin bote to the brig of Glasgow, for the quhilks the said noble lord sall pay yeirle to the said Johnne at the resait of the said herring according to the prices as the herring pakeris payes yeirle in the loches quhair the herring ar slane.'

Provision is made for the advance of a sum of money by Lord Hamilton, with £100 Scots for buying the barrels. Further provisions relate to the Captain's removing from the castle, when he shall deliver up the furnishings and ammunition according to inventory, and shall remove when required under a penalty of £6000 Scots; but should he wish to resign, Lord Hamilton is bound to accept his resignation, under penalty of paying the Captain 40 bolls of bear over and above the ordinary allowance, etc., with clause of registration.⁴

¹ Milk-cows.

² On loan; the stock to be returned intact upon vacation.

³ Bind, measure of capacity; 'burdeous' for Bordeaux, the port—thus the measure in use there.

⁴ *Hist. MSS.*, 'Hamilton Papers,' pp. 224-5

Such being the legal and executive machinery of the island, we may now pass to recount the more sensational crimes of which record has been preserved. The first is a case of fireraising in 1576, the sufferers and complainers being two Stewarts in Bute, 'Donald Bacach Mcikkerane in Glenscordill' and 'Johnne McDonill.' This was one of the graver group of offences, and the accused are summoned to find surety to appear before the Justice and his deputies in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. The 'principal committaris of the fyre rasing and burning of the houses' are Robert Hamilton of Torrance, John Galbraith, Gavin Hamilton parson of Kilbride, James Hamilton in Latter, Andrew Hamilton in Cnoc, and a James Bailey. The server of the summons was John Symontoun (Symington), and he, on information received, went up to the castle of Brodick, where the parties charged had betaken themselves, and knocked at the gate. He had poked into a hornet's nest. Immediately the whole band rushed out, with Torrance at their head, and set upon the unfortunate officer. Torrance fired a pistol at him, but by 'Goddis providence' missed him 'howbeit verie narrowlie,' next made at Symontoun with his sword and, lunging, 'stoggit him be chance throw the oxtare.' The two now came to grips, but Hamilton felled the messenger with a blow from the butt end of his pistol and left him lying 'for deid.' Symontoun, however, survived and duly made his complaint, whereupon his assailants are denounced as rebels, and all their goods forfeited.¹ At this time the Hamilton fortunes were sinking, and the Earl was an imbecile.²

But when the next case occurs, eleven years later, the Hamiltons are again on the up-grade, and Lord John is seriously involved. The original complaint is made by 'Abacuch' (Habbakuk) Bisset, W.S., Edinburgh, who, in the time of Parliament, was set upon by Patrick Hamilton

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. ii.

² See p. 66.

and his brother (whom we need not consider) in St. Giles Kirk, and dismembered of all the fingers of his left hand.¹ Patrick contemned the law, and despite being put to 'the horn,' continued 'in his accustomat tred of murthure, slauchter and uther odius crymes.' His record is black indeed, for in addition to all the rest it is affirmed that there are 'mony uther and odius wicked deidis committit bi him upone his Majesteis peceable subjeitis, and specialle within the pairtis of Arrane, quhair he is appointit capitane of Brody, oppressand sic as may not resist him baith be sey and land.'

Now, being captain of Brodick, it falls to Lord John to enter his servant before the Council for punishment, and Lord John having failed to do so he too is 'put to the horn.' But the sentence is suspended when Lord John explains that Patrick is no servant or tenant of his and does not even dwell on his lands. When informed that Patrick had gone to Arran he sent forty of his friends under a Robert Hamilton to apprehend the rebel, who, he declares, was lurking among the country people. Patrick could not be found, so they cleared out his wife and bairns from their possessions in the island, and the factor had instructions to keep them out so long as Patrick remained in rebellion. It was rather a mean way of dealing with a difficulty.² Patrick seems to have held out, but he made an appropriate end when, on April 2, 1595, he was killed in the town of Hamilton by Sir John Hamilton of Lettrick. His widow married Paul Hamilton, who appears in a case to follow as Captain of Arran.

The next example reintroduces us to old friends, the McAlisters, and suggests further the somewhat intimate terms on which they stood towards the Hamiltons. In 1601 the Marquis had procured letters calling upon Robert Mont-

¹ *Register of Privy Council*, vol. v p. 87; *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. p. 286.

² *Ibid.*

gomery of Skelmorlie to render to him 'Allaster M'Allaster,' son of the late Charles M'Allaster, sometime Tutor of Loup. How Alister came to be in Montgomery's hands, and the outcome for the moment, are explained in Montgomery's representation to the Privy Council as follows :

In the month of . . . 1600, while he was in the Lowlands, his said house of Knokransay had been taken by the Clan Allaster, and his wife and bairns detained as prisoners, and his whole moveables and furniture, to the value of £20,000, spuilied by the said Clan. Upon his suiting for redress the said Allaster had been delivered to him in security for reparation of his loss, and for the good order of the Clan in the country meanwhile. But before delivery to him of the said Allaster, he had been compelled not only to give his band in £40,000 for the redelivery of Allaster to Angus M'Conneill, and Archibald M'Conneill, his son natural, but also to grant them the security of his lands in the Highlands for his payment of the said sum. If, therefore, he had delivered the said Allaster to the Marquis, according to the said charge, he should have endangered himself not only in the said pain, but also in the right of his lands, and should thus have lost all chance of redress for his goods spuilied as above. For the said Angus and the Clan Allaster, 'being sic unhappy people and of sic force as the said complenar is unhable to resist,' would under the pretence of his said band, 'intruse themeselffis in the possessioun of his landis to the utter wrak of him, his tennantis and servandis.' 'Further,' the said Marquis of Hamiltoun 'hes na just ground nor enteres qhuairupoun to suit the delyverie of the said Allaster in his handis'; the effect of which, besides 'wrak and trouble' to the complainer, would be that 'the haill cuntrey salbe disquetit be the insolence of that Clan.' Nevertheless, he has found caution to enter the said Allaster, if it shall be found that he ought. On these grounds he prays suspension of the said letters. The pursuer appearing, but not the Marquis, the Lords do suspend the letters.

Montgomery may be taken to have scored here, but the Hamiltons were not forgetful, and an incident which is made subject of complaint in the year 1602 is probably the next

chapter of Hamilton interest in the M'Alisters and their retort to Montgomery.

It runs thus :

Complaint by Robert Montgomerie of Skelmourlie and Marrarat Makmillane in North Sannokis in Arrane, his tenant, as follows : ' It is not unknowin to his Majestie be quhat meanis, travell, cair and panes the said Robert his laitlie recoverit his house of Lochransay, quhilk wes violently surprisit and tane be sum brokin hieland men ' of the Clan Allaster, or how, after the recovery thereof, he had hoped ' not onlie to have levit peciable himselff, bot alsua to have brocht his haille tennentis and servandis, dwelland upoun his landis of Lochransay within the isle of Arrane and schirefdome of Bute, undir some civill governament and obedience to his Majestie and his lawis, lyke as, indeid, preasit be God, some experience of guid ordoure hes bene thir twa or thrie yeiris bigane ressonable establischt, alswele upoun his pairt in putting his Heynes lawis to executious as be thame in giving thair obedience thairunto.' Upon 4th August last, however, Paull Hammiltoun, captain of Brodik, Alexander Hammiltoun of Corrie, Archibald, Alexander and George Hammiltouns, sons of the late Mr. Gawin Hammiltoun, Matthew Hammiltoun, son of the late Robert Hammiltoun, called of Torrence, all armed with habguts and pistolets, accompanied by certain other ' brokin hieland men and vagaboundis,' came to the said Robert's lands of North Sannokis and not only violently took away with them Duncane M'Ellowey (MacLouis ?), servitor to Ewen M'Myllen in Glen, as prisoner to the castle of Brodik, where they kept him as captive three or four days, but also broke up the doors of the said Marramats house, and spuilyied eight kye, six stones of wool, twenty ells of cloth, a grey horse, worth £40, a cow, worth £16, plaids, pans, and all her plenishing, estimated at £40. The pursuers appearing, but none of the defenders, the order is to denounce them rebels.

Montgomery's ' house at Lochransay ' has long since passed from its ancient possessors, but still stands in semi-isolation, with access from the land only on one side, in part broken, roofless, hall and bower mingled in a common vacancy, yet even as a mere shell dignified and capacious.

Little history clings to its walls, many though the broils must have been in which it figured ; only in the minds of the older folk float vague traditions of its rough handling by the M'Alisters, as they hacked and howled an entrance within its walls, while fire and missile dropped on them from the little fighting turret over its front door. Captain Paul of the second incident was afterwards Convener of the new Justices of the Peace for the county, and his dust lies in Kilbride churchyard, where his tombstone gives 1633 as the year of his death. As he grew older he may have become more worthy of his position.

III

Twice in our rough island's story did the star of Hamilton suffer eclipse, only to emerge again in a fuller glory :

‘ So sinks the day-star in his ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head.’

Once the ‘ surname was wasted by adhering to the late Queen Mary ’ ; but ere long revived in the person of the first Marquis. Again the family suffered sorely in the days of the Solemn League and Covenant (1645) and the Commonwealth (1649-1660). It was the first Duke, when still only a Marquis, who entertained William Lithgow, the traveller, in Brodick Castle on his visit to Arran in 1628, and so moved the guest to eloquence on the island ‘ sur-clouded with Goatfield Hill. A larger prospect no Mountaine in the world can show, poynting out three Kingdomes at one sight : Neither any like Ile or braver Gentry, for good Archers, and hill-hovering Hunters.’¹ Prettier phrases than those in the turgid, commonplace lines of ponderous verse in which he apostrophises the Marquis whom Charles I. made a Duke, and who represented his royal master in his dealings with the party of the National Covenant (1638). In these

¹ Lithgow's *Rare Adventures* (MacLehose), p. 428.

dealings the Duke appears as a temporiser, achieving distrust on both sides. Charles, under pressure, sent him to prison in 1643; he was released in a few years, led the Scottish revolt of the Engagers in the King's favour in 1648, and perished on the scaffold little more than a month after Charles himself (March 9, 1649). His brother and successor, the Earl of Lanark, died of a slug-shot in the knee received at Worcester (1651). They had failed to satisfy fully either political party, and with them the male line of the family ended. Both were agreeable and accomplished men; but it was the family destiny to be losers in politics and yet gainers in dignities and estates.

Of course, in such a struggle Arran and Brodick Castle would not be overlooked, particularly as the local power of 'the great Marquis' of Argyll, foremost figure among the Covenanting leaders, lay not far distant. He seized the island, indeed, in 1639 at the very outset of the trouble, but this seizure must have been only temporary. But it is emissaries of the clan who are responsible for the wretched foray of the month of March 1646, thus described in a complaint of 1661, after the Restoration, on behalf of the 'Duchess Anna' and her vassals and tenants in Arran.

Against James Campbell of Orinsarey	¹ Campbell of
Strawhur Captane	Broun and Broun his brother
for the violent wrongous and masterfull depra-dation & roberie	
afterspecifit committed be the saids defenders in sua far as in the	
moneth of March 1646 the saids vassalls tennents possessours &	
inhabitants of the said yle of Arran then heretablie perteaneing to	
the said deceast James Duke of Hamilton, father to the said Dutches	
wer most peaceablie demaining themselffs in their severall duelling	
houses and possessions lyk guyet (guided=law-abiding) men and yet	
mevertheless the saids defenders came on ane sudden upon them	
be way of depradition & roberie by boats shallops and sicklyk vessels	
from the places of thair residence into the said yle of Arren, and	

¹ The blanks are in the record.

thair landing themselffs upon the most convenient places they pleased, entered immediatly upon the saids inhabitants thair cattell nolt sheip & bestiall and put them aboard their saids vessells and transported so many of them therin as they would carie over and killed and destroyed the rest they could not transport ; and did flay those whilk they had killed and tooke away thair hyds & skins amounting in all the killed destroyed & transported bestiall to the number of two thousand kyne or therabout besides their pillageing of what other pettie goods moveable the bounds did afford and rivined the houses & Cottages Lykas the said umquhile (late) Duke James and this said present Duke & Dutches did also susteane great skaith and losse throw lyeing of the saids lands of Arran waste be the space of sex yeers after the said depradition.

Counsel for the defenders produced on behalf of Campbell of Strawhur, the commander, 'ane order or Commission given to him be the said James Campbell of Ardkinglas ¹ of the date the eighteen day of March 1646 yeers Wherby he gives warrand to the said James Campbell of Orinsarey to march with ane comandit partie of souldiers Towards the castle of Brodick within the said yle of Arren and to take his advantage of those who beseidged the said house by killing of them and als ordaines him to take the advice of the Captane of the Castle wher or how he should get provision to his partie and to do nothing thereanent without advice forsaid And in lykmaner ordaines the said James Campbell of Orinsarey to send him provision for his partie Bot ordaines him to doe all things legallic and in ane orderlie way and ordaines him to make the goods within the said yle vses for his opposites within the said yle.'

The defenders, though cited and called, did not appear in person, and the depositions of witnesses being conclusive, the Parliament found it sufficiently proven

¹ Ardkinglas was a relative in a way. His mother was the widow of Sir Humfrey Colquhoun of Luss, Margaret, an illegitimate daughter of the first Marquis or Marquess.

That the said Laird of Ardkinglas Campbell of Strawhur
 James Campbell of Orinsarey Captane Broun &
 Broun his brother did commit the forsaid depra-dation and did waste
 spulzie kill and destroy of horses mares & kyne (besides other
 bestiall & goods perteaneing to the said deceast Duke his tennents
 in the said yle) at the tyme lybelled to the value and availl of fourtie
 thousand merks Scots money And als finds that the losse Sustained
 be the saids Duke and Dutches throw the lyeing of the saids lands
 waste be reason of the said devastation for the space of Sex yeers
 thereafter or therby doth amount to the sume of Twentie thousand
 merks money forsaid over and above the losse of the said bestiall &
 other goods And which haill losses do extend to the sume of three-
 score thousand merks scots money Thairfor our Soverane Lord with
 consent of Parliament forsaid Decernes & Ordanis the said James
 Campbell of Orinsarie Captane Broun & Broun
 his brother to mak payment to William now Duke of Hamiltoun and
 to Anna dutches of Hamiltoun and said Ladie (as having licence to
 persew in maner forsaid) of the forsaid sum of threescore thousand
 merks as for the saids severall losses susteained be them and thair
 saids vassalls in maner respective above-specifit The said Duke and
 Dutches of their oune consent upon payment of the said sume or
 securitie therfor, obleidgeing themselves to warrand the saids de-
 fenders at the hands of the saids vassals and tennents But prejudice
 alwayes to his Maties interesse for the saids wrongs & violences in
 any tyme heirafter as accords of the law As also reservean action of
 releiff at the instance of the said James Campbell of Orinsary or any
 other of the said James Campbell of Ardkinglas who gave them order
 to goe to the said yle of Arran in maner forsaid as accords of the law.¹

There we must leave the matter, in the doubtful hope
 that all parties got satisfaction.

Five years after this, in the year of Worcester, Brodick
 Castle was one of the four in Scotland still holding out for
 Charles II. But on April 6, 1652, Major-General Deane,
 holding the Scottish command for Cromwell, sent a detach-
 ment from the garrison at Ayr to occupy the place. The

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, vol. vii. pp. 248-50.

details are from a News-Letter of the time. The writer is informed from Ayr :

That Major Pounall having received a command from Major General Deane to send a commanded partie of foote to the Isle of Arran to possesse the Castle of Bradick, the late Duke of Hamilton's House, hee being alsoe Earle of Arran, accordingly the 6th instant, by 4 in the morning, a partie were shipt from Aire under the command of Captain Goldsmyth, who landed them at Cannemashe (Lamlash) 5 miles from the Castle, and coming about 3 of the clock in the after-noonne neere the Castle, having drawne uppe his men, Summoned itt. They within granted admittance with these compliments That our men were very welcom because they were not in a capacity to avoide itt, for they told them in plaine termes, that if they could have prevented itt, our men should nott have come in there, yet after about 2 hours stay, the chief tenants in the Island came and were very civill to the Captaine and souldiers.

The Castle may bee made very tenable, and is of great consequence, in regard itt brings the Island into subjection, which is 7 or 8 miles over, and 24 miles in length. The inhabitants expresse much disaffection to Argile, and itt's hoped the civillity of our souldiers will much engage them. (April 1652).¹

There is later a note as to the cost of upkeep of the garrison.

Expenses of the English Army (1653)

Brodict Castle :			£	s.	d.
fire and candle	.	.	07	00	00
storekeeper	.	.	04	04	00
			11	04	00 ²

Whatever the reception of the garrison may have been, tradition holds a resentful memory of their conduct thereafter. They are alleged to have added to their provisions by forcing contributions of cattle from the people of the neighbourhood. *Bealach nam Bó*, the name of a field at the mouth of a small

¹ *Scotland and the Commonwealth* (S. H. S.), p. 38.

² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

stream running into the Cnocan Burn below the castle, is said to have taken its name from the fate of a cow seized by the soldiers in the byre of the farmer of Cnocan. As he saw the animal led away, the enraged farmer, disregarding the remonstrances of his frightened wife, seized his reaping-hook and hamstrung the beast, remarking, 'Better a dead cow than nothing.' Bullying and pillaging the people and insulting the women, the soldiers roused such hostility of feeling that, at last, a foraging party, on their march back to the castle, was attacked and annihilated. The skirmish referred to is said to have commenced at *Allt-a-Chlaidheimh* (Sword Burn), betwixt South Sannox and Corrie, and the last man of the English party was dragged from the shelter of *Clach-a-Chath* (Stone of Battle; now called the 'Cat Stone') and killed. Another version of this crude skirmish, in which the wrathful people used farm tools as weapons, places it near the castle, and allows the governor and his men to escape in a small boat, all save one, who was chased and killed under a big rock in the Merkland Wood, near the public road, which rock commemorates the incident in its name of *Creag an Stobaidh*, 'the stabbing rock.'

Lag-nan-Sassunnach is a little hollow near the mouth of the North Sannox burn, a few hundred yards from the beach. In it is said to be interred the English who fell in an engagement near by. It has been always understood that this engagement was fought at a date previous to the Cromwellian period.

The Commonwealth certainly put the Hamiltons in hard case. The first Duke had left the estates burdened with debt, part of it a loan raised on the property for Charles I.; it was luck to have this repaid later by the second Charles. Added to the debt was a heavy fine by the Commonwealth Government and the necessity of redeeming the forfeited property. The credit of retaining intact the family lands, under these most difficult conditions, falls to Anna or Anne,



LAMLASH, SHOWING DUCHESS ANNE'S HARBOUR.

[From an old print.]

eldest daughter of the first duke, who, in terms of the ducal investiture of 1643, succeeded on failure of male heirs. She must have been a woman of great practical ability, inspiring confidence even in creditors, while, in her necessarily straitened circumstances, she maintained for a time her dispossessed nieces, daughters of Duke William, though having herself hardly 'whereon to subsist.'¹ The Earl of Abercorn seems to have been guilty of an intrigue to get possession of Arran and Polmont, which drew a protest from the creditors to Protector Cromwell, who had the grant of these portions revoked: the petitioners point out that the Duchess had paid the whole fine and was in possession of the whole estate, and from her alone could they receive satisfaction (1657).²

The Commonwealth passed, the King enjoyed his own, and Duchess Anna had married William Douglas, second son of the Marquis of Douglas, who took the name of Hamilton and devoted himself to clearing his marriage estates of their encumbering debts. He it was who latterly led the opposition against Charles II.'s government in Scotland, and was president of the Scottish Convention which conferred the crown upon William and Mary. He died in 1694. At his wife's request, in the year of the Restoration, he had been dignified with the titles which were her right. She survived him till 1716, and must have been over eighty years old when she died. She had taken a personal interest in Arran, which was probably her retreat during the vexatious times after her brother's death. She there showed her business capacity in having a small pier and basin built at Lamlash costing £2913, which served the needs of the port till later than the middle of the eighteenth century, when it seems to have gone derelict through lack of business, and was therefore pulled to pieces as a quarry of building

¹ *State Papers (Domestic)*, 1656-57, p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, 1657-58, p. 233.

stone.¹ The later village of Lamlash rose from its ruins. It is still possible to trace the outline of the structure on the shore. The Duchess sought to improve Lamlash, and she was the first to begin the making of roads, such as they were. A chapel at Loch Ranza is also attributed to her, but less need be said of that : what had happened to the church lands and revenues of old ? Two communion cups given in 1705 for the use of the whole island were preserved at Kilmorie till a burnt-down manse left only their relics : the present cups are a replica, though bearing the original inscription with the date 1711, the burning of the manse having taken place in the previous year.

The natives 'have a great veneration for her Grace,' is the testimony of a contemporary ; and, a quarter of a century later, we have the statement that her 'amiable disposition and humane attention to the welfare of Arran render, at this distant time, her memory dear to every inhabitant.'² Despite all that has been said above, this writer refers to her century as 'the golden age of this island.'³

In the rest of the family history Arran, for the moment, has no special interest. James, the next Earl and Duke, held only the former title till 1689, when his mother surrendered all her titles in his favour, and a fresh patent brought all back to the male line ; three years later he was created in addition Duke of Brandon in England. This is the Duke of whom Thackeray gives a really unfair picture

¹ 'In the bottom of the bay (Lamlash) was a fine circular bason or pier now in ruins (1772); the work of the good Dutchess of Hamilton.'—Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, p. 188.

'This admirable quay was some thirty or forty years ago (about 1800) allowed to be used as a quarry for erecting the village of Lamlash.'—*New Statistical Account*, vol. v. p. 83.

Masons then paid 8d. a day ; labourers 4d.—*Ibid.*

² Headrick's *View of Arran*, p. 346.

³ Martin's *Description of the Western Isles* (c. 1695); Pennant's *Tour in Scotland and Voyage to the Hebrides*, p. 174.

in *Esmond*. Keeping on the family traditions he was, as against William, a Jacobite at heart, and played a nasty trick upon the opponents of the Union of 1707, whose leader he was, failing them at the most critical stages of their tactics. He continued, however, to be a Jacobite hope till he fell in a famous duel in 1712. James, the fifth Duke, was but a boy in 1715, the date of Mar's rising, but he and his men were reported well disposed to the Hanoverian Government. The sixth Duke, another James, was in Paris at the time of the rising of the Forty-five, in which Arran had no great share. True, there is a story that a Lady Flora Stewart recruited on Arran ground for the white cockade, with what success we hear not.¹

The attempt to raise men in Arran for Prince Charlie was abortive. A gentleman named Hector MacAlister (known and remembered by the name of Eachann Og) was despatched with money to raise the Arran men, but the fortunes of the Prince appeared too doubtful for anything to be done, and the emissary was kept waiting so long that finally the Jacobite hopes died out at Culloden. To add to the difficulties of Hector MacAlister during this period of waiting, MacAlister of Loup, his kinsman and chief, and MacAlister of Tarbert were in dispute regarding participation in the rising, the former a Jacobite and the latter a Hanoverian. To that band of kinsmen, if raised, would the Arran contingent undoubtedly have been joined. After Culloden, Hector went into hiding, his headquarters being around Achangallon, and many stories are told locally about him. On one occasion he lay under a large pile of straw, while the king's soldiers prodded with pikes all round him, fortunately without locating him. Some years afterwards, when the hue and cry was all over, he was given the tenancy of Monyquill (Moinechoill) and Glaster farms,

¹ It has proved impossible to trace any such person or incident. 'Lady' may be merely a courtesy title.

marrying a woman named Mary Fullarton, of a landed family in Ayrshire, by whom he had a son, Charles, and several daughters.¹

While the story has here been set down as communicated, it must be added that the surviving descendant of Mr. MacAlister in Arran disclaims all knowledge of any connection with the Forty-five on the part of her ancestor.

Coming down to the official facts, we find the number of Arran men implicated in the Forty-five to be precisely six. They are 'Hector M'Alister, Merchant in Glenc(l)oy; Adam Fullerton, Brewer in Brodick; James Bain Fullarton, Merchant in Glencloy; William Miller, Brewer in Brodick; Pat. Gray, Taylor (tailor) in Brodick; and William Maitland, Surgeon there.' The last two are 'King's Evidence' against the others, appearing in the list of 'Evidences,' but described as 'both Rebels.'² Hector M'Alister has perhaps been confused with the better-known person of the same name dealt with in the preceding paragraph. James Bain Fullarton lived to be a thorn in the side of the factor Burrel, whose doings in Arran will occupy our attention in a later chapter—he distrusted and sharply criticised the improving schemes of that commissioner, who refers to him as an 'old rogue.' Thus there is no likelihood that any one of these men paid the penalty of his Jacobite adventure.

For further matter in the island's history at this time, recourse must be had to less romantic and more domestic sources.

¹ The son was drowned near the island of Davaar while a young lad, his death being attributed to Captain James Hamilton (Seumas MacGhaidhaidh) of the revenue cutter, who was a suitor for the hand of one of the sisters. On this incident the father, Eachann Og, composed a touching little poem, for which see p. 315. A daughter married a Captain MacAlister, and their only daughter married a Dr. Stoddart. A daughter of the latter still survives.

² 'A List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion 1745-46,' *Scot. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii. p. 326. 'Brewer' is a frequent description in the lists.

CHAPTER VII

FOLK HISTORY

Tradition in history—the last raid in Arran—the names of the people—the ‘baron-lairds’ in tradition—stories of the Fullartons—of other families—the ‘bloomeries’—military and naval service—the press-gang—smuggling and its tragic incidents.

I

‘THE old folk, Time’s doting chroniclers,’ have their contributions to make to history, but no more than written matter are these implicitly to be accepted. Tradition is an excellent thing, when one is satisfied that the tradition is genuine, that it is not subsequent invention or a distorted reflection of written history. That the Fullartons had their lands from Bruce is traditional from the seventeenth century at least, but has not borne inspection. On the other hand, the lodging of Bruce in the Drumadoon Cave is unknown to Pennant in 1772; he calls it ‘Fingal’s Cave,’ does not know the ‘King’s Cave’ as its name, and connects its features with stories of ‘Finn-mac-cuil.’ Again, Martin in 1695 knows nothing of ‘baron-lairds’: ‘The isle of Arran,’ he writes, ‘is the Duke of Hamilton’s property (a very small part excepted).’ Pennant, however, does speak of a number of small chartered proprietors, though by his time they had disappeared by absorption. Sir Walter Scott is responsible for another set of ‘traditions’ attached to Loch Ranza.

The story that the last raid in Arran was from Cowal is pretty clearly a legitimate memory of the Campbell and

Brown plundering of 1646, as set forth in the previous chapter. Cowal or other Browns¹ are an element in the population of the north end ; a little colony of them colours the tiny graveyard by the wayside between Catacol and Loch Ranza.

All the Arran raiders, in fact, are represented locally in name—MacDonalds a few, MacAlisters many, though a diminishing number. The special habitat of the MacAlisters is the Shisken district, and the forefathers of the name lie in ranks in the windswept cemetery at Kilmorie or in the old Shisken ground by the clamorous Clachan burn. There are said to have been ‘big’ and ‘little’ MacAlisters. The term ‘big MacAlisters’ and ‘little MacAlisters’ is unknown in Arran. The term ‘Clann Alastair Bheag’ was applied to ‘Sliochd Iain Odhar’ (Sallow John’s tribe), that is the little clan MacAlister (of Arran), to distinguish them from ‘Sliochd Iain Dubh’ (Black John’s tribe), that is the MacAlisters of Loup, etc. We have already seen one way of their coming as settlers ; another report is that MacAlisters came over to Shisken from their home country in the south side of Loch Tarbert to fill up places vacant by a destructive visit of the plague in 1666. The year preceding is that of the Great Plague of London, but there is no record of the infection having passed to Scotland. But the MacAlisters had been so often a plague to the island that it was fitting such a forerunner should prepare a place for them. Other families credited with occupying these sorrowful vacations are Thomsons and MacMillans, while Bannatynes came from Rothesay. But no doubt there was normally, from time to time, an infusion of Kintyre and Cowal blood in Arran. The ecclesiastical connection between Saddell and Shisken would be one channel. Several families of the name of Thomson are descended from Lachlan MacTavish or Thomson,

¹ Represents Gaelic *M’Ille-dhuinn* (*donn*, ‘brown’), or it may be a mere epithet.

a shepherd brought over from Skipness by Hector MacAlister (Eachann Og), tenant of Moine-choille and Glaster. Lachlan, after some time, married a relative of his employer's wife, and later on, being desirous of acquiring a farm, got the sympathies of his own and his master's wife enlisted to the end that Eachann Og should solicit this favour for him. During a visit to the castle Eachann Og did so, with the result that some families of MacGregors and MacAlisters were removed from their holdings in Achancar to make room for Lachlan MacTavish or Thomson. The names which melted under the pest were M'Brayne, Macrae, Blue ¹ (of which there are but a few solitary examples in the northern churchyards), Hutton, Chattan,² and Henderson; of these there are to-day only some Hendersons. MacKelvie is another Kintyre name once common on the west side. MacGrigars or MacGregors and Mackenzies, spelled for most MacKinzie, appear indiscriminately in the west, like corn-flowers on the fringes of the barley. MacGregors of course drifted everywhere since the seventeenth century; MacKenzies are said to have settled in the island after the Forty-five, but they are much earlier, for the name appears among the elders of Kilmorie at the beginning of the eighteenth century. If these were of the Ross-shire stock, their appearance from so far a source would be even more puzzling than that of the Appin Stewarts, who are said to constitute the 'Stiubhartaich bheag' or 'little Stewarts' of Arran, in contrast with the 'big' Stewarts, 'Stiubhartaich Mhor,'

¹ *Blue.* A quarter of a century ago the last of this name in Arran was an old woman over eighty years of age. There yet lives near Vancouver city, British Columbia, an old and very intelligent man named Blue, full of interesting tales of his native isle. He belongs to Lag(g)an (Arran). A small cave adjoining the Preaching Cove at Kilpatrick is named Uamh Nic-ille-Ghuirm.

² There have long been and still are Shaws, who may be of the Clan Chattan. Martin refers to 'a little family called Clan-Chattaus, *alias* Macintosh.' A Margaret Miller *alias* Macintosh lived in Baelmeanich (Baile Meadhonach) (p. 226). But there were sporadic Macintoshes who were not of the Clan Chattan, and also Shaws (M. Ir. *sidhach*, 'wolf'). There were also M'Nish names—M'Aon-ghus (Angus).

who were in dependence on the family that so long ruled the south end, the Stewart district in particular.

Other western families were, and, to a less extent are, the Curries, Murchies, and that nominated Sillars. Currie is alleged to be a reduced form of MacMhuirich, exhibiting a usual form of Arran phonetics, paralleled also farther south and particularly in the Island of Man. *M* and *Mh* suffer elision, so that Mac is reduced to 'Ac, and Mac Mhuirich is pronounced 'Ac 'Uiri (or at Shisken, 'Ac Fuiri), which is further compressed to 'Currie.'¹ Some at least of the Murchies were Murphys in original; on a Kilmore tombstone the erector is afterwards recorded as being buried, and his name is in one case Murphy, in the other Murchie, the latter after he was dead. Other names may be paralleled elsewhere, but 'Sillars,' in that form, seems to be of Arran formation. The steps of its evolution are traceable from the Kilmore Session Records, where we have the Gaelic forms M'Inurignach (1702), M'Nargenach (1719), and M'Nargid (1719) for 'Mac-an-airgid, Son of the Silver'; also the English form in 'Silver' (1718), later on tombstone and record 'Siller,' so passing to Sillars. The original may have been a silversmith.² Other illustrative forms in the Records are M'Couck (1718)—whence, in the Arran way of dropping the *M*, comes Cook, the spelling pointing to *cu'ag*, cuckoo,³ as source—and Griffin (1718) for MacGriffin or MacGraffan. The south end Gaelic genteelly narrowed the

¹ 'Gaelic Dialect of Arran,' by Rev. C. M. Robertson in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xxi. pp. 229-65. Arran is enriched with three dialects, North End, Shisken, and South End, that of the north being more like the Kintyre variety than the others.

² Perhaps a worker in silver, for which see p. 125. 'Davie' Sillar was a youthful friend of the poet Burns.

³ It is alleged (in Arran) to have been an ancient Highland custom, before surnames, to call a child by the name of the first thing which attracted the notice of the baptismal party on their way to church. This is said to explain the cuckoo. Another name of the type is MacOnie ('son of the rabbit'). There is a totemistic theory somewhat on these lines.

more open vowel sounds by crimping the lips.¹ MacKinnons are a familiar name of the Western Isles and may well have strayed in, but the Robertsons can scarcely be the Perthshire Clan Donnachie: there were others who are entitled to a separate category. The Crawford at Clachan were possibly a Lanarkshire lot: some are on record from Renfrew. MacKillops (Philip's son) are in evidence Loch Ranza way.

Special northern forms of Loch Ranza and Sannox are Kelso and the Roxburgh Kerr (Carr), which are Gaelicised as 'Caolisten' and 'Carrach'; the origin of these names has already been indicated. Wherever they are found in Arran they come from the north end, where they had their roots. Kintyre MacMillans transferred to Loch Ranza have, in one case, become famous as publishers. Hamiltons, Fullartons, and Hunters predominate, as might be conjectured, in the gravestones of the east side. So do MacBrides, with the 'pet' form or diminutive M'Bridan (M'Bhridein).² MacMasters are sons of 'the Master,' who would be a cleric.

But though most Highland districts still specialise in their ancient nomenclature, and Arran, being an island, has been necessarily conservative in this respect, economic and other changes, helped by facilities of intercommunication, have gone far in uprooting the old names or grafting them with new.

At this stage the problem of the 'baron-lairds' may again be taken up, for consideration from the present point of view. It has previously been suggested that these were the feuars, who of course are a species of landholders subject to the payment of a yearly feu. The classic case is that of the charter constitution of the tenants of Bute by James IV. in 1506 as holders at feu-farm. There is a very long list of such tenants, with specification by name of the lands or

¹ Cf. the Galloway M'Kinnie with the Arran M'Kinyie (M'Kinzie) and the northern M'Kenzie (M'Kenzie). (The *z* is a distortion of printing.)

² For 'dream signs' of the Arran families, see p. 290. See also p. 289.

portions of lands which they are to have and possess in perpetuity, themselves and heirs male, for the money ferms, marts, barley and oats as paid before this infeftment, with attendance on the justiciary and sheriff courts. To these possessors the name of 'baron' was popularly applied, and the same term is also found in North Argyll, as in the case already given, which is pretty modern, and in Cowal, where the MacKellars were 'barons or bonnet-lairds of the farm of Maam and Kilblain, in Glenshira, near Inveraray.'¹

There is no official or state record of any such class in Arran, but the tradition is there, and the name has been in use in quite recent times apparently with the meaning of feuar. It appears, too, that in 1684 the Fullarton holding was changed from ward to feu, which may have some bearing on the matter.² Before the occasion of the Bute barons, Arran had passed into Hamilton hands, but such superiors had also the right to set their lands in feu, if thought good. As there is no nomination of such holders in the royal accounts, their appearance is possible only after the property had been transferred to the Hamiltons. In 1626 Bishop Thomas Knox mentions only two proprietors in Arran, suggesting no small ones.³ It can be inferred that Martin in 1695 knew of none. In 1772 Pennant states the case thus: 'After the battle of Bannockburn he (Robert Bruce) rewarded several, such as the Mac-Cooks, Mac-Kinnons, Mac-Brides, and Mac-louis, or Fullartons with different charters of lands in their native country. All these are now absorbed by this great family, except the Fullartons, and a Stewart, descended from a son of Robert III., who gave him a settlement here.'⁴ We have seen the origin of the

¹ Brown's *History of Cowal*, p. 166.

² Reid's *Bute*, p. 239.

³ 'Arrane belongyth for the most pairt to the Lord Marqueis of Hammiltoun and the Laird Scairmerlay (Skelmorlie).—*Collect. de Rebus Alban*, p. 123.

⁴ *Tour and Voyage*, pp. 172-3. A proverbial saying reduces the names to two:

'M'Enan's Mac Uea.

M'Kinnon and MacCook.

Da dhubh bhodach Ariun. The two hereditary men of Arran.'

Fullartons : Arran was not 'their native country,' and their case is not in the same category as the others, at any rate till after 1684. The Stewarts, too, have a quite traceable history. The popular inclusion of Hunters in the list may be due to a family of that name holding the office of forester. Pennant is in no better case than ourselves ; he is repeating a tradition, though certainly a tradition much nearer the alleged facts.

To enter more closely into details, the story goes that the MacKinnons possessed Slidderie, their lands meeting those of the M'Loys (Fullartons) at the top of the Sheans (Sithean) : the MacCooks had Beinnecarrigan and Clachaig, their lands adjoining those of the MacBrides at the top of the Ros ; Millers had Torlin, and Curries Feorline ; Hunters were in possession of lands in Clachlands and the Holy Isle. This must be all taken for what it is worth. It is claimed that MacBrides were in Glenkil, Lamlash, since before Bruce, but not that they got this farm from him ; what they got was elsewhere. In the Currie case even the tradition is questionable ; in 1766 the principal tenants of ' High ' and ' Low ' Feorline are not of that name.¹ The principal tenant at that date in Beinnecarrigan is a M'Cook but not in Clachaig, and the principal tenant is only representative of a group who may run to a dozen different families. There is no Miller in Torlin, but a MacKinnon is principal tenant in Slidderie. And by that time the whole system is different from anything possible under ' baron-lairds,' who are already legendary figures, so that the period of their possible existence is reduced to a century or thereabouts.

Now as to the manner in which these ownership rights were lost, tradition is clear if not very convincing. Briefly it is that an inspection of title-deeds had been ordered by the Government, that the Duke of the time (not stated) undertook to arrange for the smaller proprietors in the island,

¹ See p. 357.

and having got their parchments into his possession refused to disgorge. The Fullartons were among the victims, and only an importunity like that of the woman in the parable enabled the then laird to recover the documents. One version of the story makes James, son of Lord John and second Marquis, the villain of the story. He died in 1634; but our informant also says he married in 1603 the Duchess Anne, who was really his grand-daughter. This Duchess, too, is also credited with being the person whose advice enabled the Fullartons to recover their charters. Thus do we find an outstanding historical figure gradually bejewelled with legendary matter. As stated, the whole circumstances are improbable; one doesn't see why M'Cooks and Curries should have been shyder than Fullartons; and there is a swarm of other difficulties. On the other hand, the popular version might be taken to present circumstances of a particular kind in a way misunderstood or misinterpreted.

The MacKinnon and Hunter rights, too, are given a different fate. The former went to Ireland in the possession of an Irish widow, who had left MacKinnon with no heirs. The latter are affirmed to have perished from damp in a place of concealment in the Holy Isle, where they had been left by a Hunter who had a weakness for roaming the world—and who died abroad. One leaves such tales without comment.

A strange story attaches itself to the fortunes of the Fullartons. It speaks of a quarrel between a laird of some unrecorded date and his brother, which came to a head in a duel on Lamash green, where it left the name *Leac Sheumais* ('flag-stone of James'). For James, apparently the laird, was slain, and the brother, now also the heir, fled oversea. The childless widow of the murdered man married again, and to a child of the second family the estate passed. As it happened, the second husband was also of the name of Fullarton, though no relative of his predecessor. Many years

after, a Fullarton appeared in the island claiming to be a descendant of the fratricide and rightful heir to the property; but, though he knew all about the ghastly affair at *Leac Sheumais*, he lacked the usual single link in completing his proof of descent, and could not carry the matter to an issue.¹

Without prejudice it may be interpolated that the succession of two Fullartons in the first half of the seventeenth century is uncertain. Even the name of one of them is uncertain, whether James or Allan (preference is given to the former); and it is not clear whether he was the son of the Donald who preceded him, or whether he was the father of the Alexander who became his successor.² At no other point can the story given above intrude itself.

Here only, too, can place be found for the tale of the hidden heir, the Fullarton child that was preserved from his enemies by his old nurse, who hid him in a cave near the upper end of Glen Cloy. To occupy the child in her absence she provided him with a piece of raw meat to suck, and, to ensure that he could not choke himself by attempting to swallow the morsel, she tied it by a string to the boy's big toe. Thus, if he choked and struggled, his struggles would dislodge the beef.

On the west side the same story is given a M'Alister heir for its subject, and a place in the shelter of a peculiarly situated boulder near the head of Glen Iorsa. The boy had been carried away by the nurse from the capture of his ancestral home and the slaying of his kindred by Campbells or MacDonalds. He grew up and became a sailor, rising to the command of a trading vessel—as humiliating a career, in this connection, as for the sons of Rob Roy to become weavers. And so, once upon a time, he found himself in

¹ This was 'James Fullerton,' one of the 'Albion' emigrants as a boy, born in Corrie in 1822.—*Annals of Megantie*, pp. 156-7. Cf. p. 225.

² Reid's *Bute*, p. 238.

Kilbrannan Sound, and in an old woman pitifully gathering shell-fish on the shore at Dougarie (Dubhgharadh) he luckily recognised his neglected foster-mother. Any one can supply the conclusion.

Like many other places, indeed, Arran has its tales of local families whose founders had slipped from their high estate. Over a century ago Peter M'Callum or Padraic Donn came to the island from Glen Falloch, where his mother, he said, was a daughter of the Duke of Argyll, who had eloped with the gardener. No loophole for this misalliance is offered in the Argyll pedigree.

A Mackenzie of Redcastle, in the Black Isle, is alleged to have found refuge in Arran after Culloden, and it is natural that members of that family of the time in question should remain unaccounted for. He built at Bennan a house bigger than ordinary, therefore known as *Tìgh Mór a' Bheannain* ('the big house of Bennan'). From being a carpenter he became the tacksman, or the *Fear-a'-Bhaile*¹ of a farm in the district: as we have seen, he would find others of the same name in the countryside to give him the comfort of clanship.

Such tales and others of the kind, we may be sure, formed part of the evening's entertainment, when the folk gathered to the *céilidh* in the houses in the long, dark blustering evenings of winter, what time the men knitted and the women spun their lint, and peat fires and cruise mingled their familiar smells and acrid smoke, and neighbourliness and hospitality had, for the time, the upper hand of the quarrelsomeness which sometimes comes upon a people confined in their outlook and closely dependent on each other. Even the stray beggar had his welcome and his 'beggar's bed,' and, if he outstayed his welcome, it was a strain on traditional kindness and courtesy to find a way of making room for the next uninvited guest. And he or she, too,

¹ See p. 201.

would have something to tell of news or wonder spreading thus from fireside to fireside.

II

Among the things about which report has come to us by oral accounts, here happily verified by evidence on the ground, is the ancient iron industry of Arran. The existence of this industry is a further testimony to the considerable growth of natural wood that must once have flourished in the island. Indeed, Arran is said on this account to have been known as the Black Forest.

In early times, and down to the middle of the eighteenth century, iron had to be smelted by the use of charcoal. Wasteful alike of wood and iron, this process, nevertheless, from the absence of impurities in the heating material, turned out a fairly satisfactory if uncertain product; but it was one of the principal forms of destructiveness among the woods of districts where it was carried on, and had to cease when the supply had been used up. Thus the existence of such an industry in Arran probably terminated about the beginning of the eighteenth century; ¹ nor is it likely, from what we know of other parts of the country, that it had begun before the sixteenth. There is no hint of anything of the kind in the royal accounts; Scotland was still importing its iron. A silver coin, of date 1580, was found in the field in which were the furnaces at Glenkil, Lamash. Pennant in 1772 and Headrick in 1807 know nothing of the business. Tradition or knowledge of it among the natives is limited to a very few.

Part at least of the raw material was bog-iron, for such was found still adhering to the slag on one of the three sites at Glenkil. Tradition speaks of a working of ore in Glen Rosa and Glen Cloy, and shelly ironstone bands do crop out by the bridge over the Rosa Burn at Brodick Manse.

¹ Cf. what is said about the Arran woods in the next chapter.

There is also clay ironstone of good quality at Corrie and on the Cock shore, and the Corrie stuff seems formerly to have been exported.¹

The ore was smelted in a shallow hole or pot in the ground, usually, as in mainland examples, from six to seven feet in diameter. The bottom had a hearth of clay which would be extended with flat stones, and the sides seem also to have been cobbled. At Kilpatrick, Shisken, the furnace is a hollow nine to ten feet in diameter on the top of a mound, and is rudely built round. Charcoal was the heating material, and was heaped upon the ore till sufficient heat was got to reduce the mass, and the slag began to flow. The pure metal was picked out, probably beaten and re-heated and worked at till in a fit state for use. Meantime almost as much good metal was lost in the slag, mounds of which of the older black kind, still rich in ore, are found near the old furnaces—in one case a mass which must weigh close on a hundred tons. At Kilpatrick the slag has been thrown down the slope; from Cnoc Dubh, between Brodick and Lamlash, it has been removed for roadmaking. At Largie Beag, by the road from Whiting Bay, ten carts of slag were taken for use in making drains. These open furnaces are known as ‘bloomeries,’² and the first part of the word is still used for a mass of iron.

Nothing is gained by tabulating all the sites of bloomeries in Arran; an indication of their general character suffices, for one is own brother to the next. They are on hillsides or a good bit inland, for they had to be where the wood was; near a stream, for water was much used both in damping the charcoal so as to maintain a steady heat and in cooling the slag. At Coille Mhor, Loch Ranza,³ the slag lies at a spot 100 feet above sea-level, while in a flat below are the

¹ *Memoir* (21) *Geological Survey*, p. 147.

² Old English *blóma*, a lump or mass, with the suffix *-ery*.

³ ‘A knoll to the south-east of this heap of slag is known as the “hammer-head,” and the second as the “smith’s hill.”’—Macadam, ‘Notes on the Ancient Iron Industry of Scotland,’ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, vol. xxi. p. 98.

remains of much charcoal, where it seems to have been made ; but there is no stream in this case. A second one at Cnoc Dubh is about 300 feet higher up the hill than the other. In certain places, as by the burn Lag a' Bheithe, between the high road and the older track half way from Lamlash to Brodick, may be seen traces of the turf huts in which the workers lived, much as they did in the summer shielings. A bloomery was on the hill between Glen Sherrraig and Glen Cloy,¹ there was one at Strathwhillan, and another at Ach-na-Ceardach (' field of the smithy '), in the farm of Goirtein Alasdair, beside road and stream. Probably the tale of coal at Drumadoon used by the smith indicates another site.² These examples are pretty well scattered, and no doubt a careful search would find many more. In those days the glare of iron furnaces on the hillside must have been a feature of the countryside, as it now is of certain towns.

A bloomery where copper was smelted is said to exist at Achariach, Slidderie, at *Lean na Meine* (' the field of the mine '). Gold,³ too, is declared to have been extracted by the same means at Springbank below Brodick, and silver in Glen Sherrraig. In Glen Rosa is *Cnoc an airgid* (' hillock of the silver ').

Given a steadily growing population in the island, where cultivation is also severely limited, there comes a stage when the young men without prospects must go farther afield. Naturally, too, for it was the more familiar in its operations, a seafaring life would have the preference. Trained in the herring boats and skiffs, the young fellows of Arran found their way into revenue cutters, excise yachts, the merchant service, and the navy. In the latter part of the eighteenth century 300 thus went annually from Kilbride alone to sea-

¹ ' Two sites were found to the S.S.W. of Glenrickard Cottage, and situated on separate burns.'—*Ibid.*

² See p. 184, note 1.

³ But specimens of local 'gold' shown to Headrick turned out to be only iron pyrites.

faring occupations.¹ The result is to show in the census returns for 1801 an excess of 425 females over males in the island as a whole.²

The preference for the sea came out quite as strongly when it was a question of service with the colours. In 1803 the island was found to contain 1500 men able to carry arms, and about 500 liable to enlist in the militia and reserve.³ Yet those liable had rather pay the fine than enter the militia, and when Duke Archibald, well liked as he was, proposed to raise an Arran regiment, he failed to get more than a handful, and those only by the temptation of excessive bounties. 'Had he proposed to man a ship of the line, the people would have risen in mass.'⁴ Yet there were Arran men with a record of land service, veterans now returned to the peaceful island with the carnage of Salamanca and the horrors of Corunna imprinted in their memories—a Fullarton of Lamrash, a Sym from Tormore, and a Shaw of Shisken; to mention only some survivors and say nothing of those who remained for ever in the blood-soaked soil of the Peninsula.

Some further details of individual services are given in the following communication:—'Among the Arran men who entered the Navy the McCurdys (or McKirdy), uncle and nephew, most distinguished themselves. McCurdy (the uncle) started as a smuggler, and in one of his runs met and defeated a revenue cutter in a stand-up fight. A reward of £500 was then offered for his capture. This reward he claimed himself, but instead of shooting him the authorities drafted him on board a sloop-of-war. He married an Irish lady of noble birth, and through the influence of her brothers

¹ *Statistical Account*.

² Headrick, p. 11.

³ This enumeration was due to an Act of the previous year reconstituting the militia. All were liable between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

⁴ Headrick, p. 12. Of the national militia raised in that year, numbering 45,492 men, 40,998 were substitutes, so Arran was not really so peculiar as is made out.

gained a commission in the Navy. He rose to command a frigate. While on a cruise he fell in with and captured a French warship, but the Frenchmen, after McCurdy had carried her by boarding, blew her up, and McCurdy and most of his men were killed in the explosion.

‘The nephew listed or was pressed into the Navy as a common seaman. He rose to be bo’sun of his ship, and while engaged in blockading the French shore during the wars with Napoleon, he was sent out in charge of a small boat to reconnoitre during a fog. They suddenly came across a French warship, and noticing that but a poor watch was kept they rushed and captured her, battenning the crew below. For his share in this exploit he received his commission, and afterwards got command of a frigate. He died in Brodick during the fifties of last century.’

In 1849 there was still living, at Kildonan, Lachlan Thomson, a veteran of the crew of the frigate *Shannon*, who had been present at her capture of the American *Chesapeake* on June 1, 1813.

Handy seamen the islanders proved to be, ‘distinguished by prompt obedience and orderly conduct.’¹ They must have been worth getting in the debased and brutal circumstances of the sea service of the time. And, as elsewhere, men who would not enlist of their own accord were taken by force. For centuries imprisonment was a legal means of securing recruits in national emergencies, but from the latter half of the eighteenth century the press-gang was used for recruiting in a way that went beyond legal justification; all restrictions were neglected under the necessity of getting men somehow. Many islanders were thus, among others, taken off merchant ships in forcible seizure by a naval officer and squad of armed sailors; others were pounced upon at the ports, or even sought out in the glens and as far west as Shisken. Many were the devices to avoid

¹ Headrick, p. 13.

capture ; flight to the large towns of the mainland, though even there safety was not assured, or hiding, like Achilles of old, among the women. And it was then, too, you would see the lads trailing in from the hills of a morning, where they had been lying out all night for dread of the press.

But even the cruel methods of the press did not prove fully effective, and late in the century quotas or proportionate numbers of men for both services were assessed on the counties, which meant the expense of bounties for recruits. A tacksman's rent receipt of February 6, 1797, for South Thundergay (Ton-ri-gaoith) thus bears the curious addendum : ' Received 3s. 3d. as the proportion affecting this farm for levying nine men from the county for His Majesty's Army and Navy, being the second quota net.'¹ Men had to be heavily bribed into service.

The warlike character of the time is illustrated by the records of service in the local Fullarton family. Of the family of Dr. Lewis Fullarton, who figures as under-factor in the next chapter, the eldest son and successor, John, was a lieutenant in the royal navy, and, after retiring, commanded a revenue cruiser ; James, the youngest son, entered the line, was present, with other Arran men, at Corruna and Waterloo, and being created C.B. and K.H., died at Halifax, Nova Scotia, in command of the 96th regiment. His elder brother, Archibald, who in time also succeeded to the Kilmichael estate, was a major in the army, fought at Vimiera and Talavera, and at Salamanca lost a leg. He was the last of the male line ; only daughters survived him, of whom the eldest married a Glasgow banker named Menzies James Bowden. In terms of the deed of entail, the husband assumed the name and arms of Fullarton.²

In such wise did Arran pay its blood toll of service, mostly at sea, in the Titanic struggle with the France of Napoleon.

¹ Cf. correspondence in *Glasgow Herald*, November 21-26, 1912.

² Details from Reid's *Bute*, p. 239.

An occupation, which by the close of the eighteenth century had grown to the proportions of a national industry, was the smuggling of dutiable articles ; and in this business Arran, possessing many advantages from its insular character, had a good share. As duties, under the demand for a greater revenue, spread and increased, one thing after another became a profitable speculation for the smuggler. The malt duty of 1725 discouraged the ancient brewing of the home-made ale, and Dutch gin and French brandy became its unfortunate substitutes. We have observed the trade in French wines to the Ayrshire ports ; there was gain now to be made by receiving the spirits from ships passing up the firth, before they reached a custom-house, and retailing at a profit what had not paid duty. A tax on salt had been levied in 1702, which rose to 5s. a bushel in 1798, but was ultimately pushed up to the extravagant figure of 15s., or from thirty to forty times the prime cost. Here was a huge margin of profit, and it is no matter of surprise that enterprising fellows were found eager to tap it and take the risks. Finally, the taste for spirits encouraged the making of whisky, which then was also scooped into a narrower revenue net. Improved agriculture was increasing the yield of barley, and rents rose correspondingly, yet the wretched condition of the roads made it almost impossible to bring the grain to central markets from remote districts, while multiplying legal restrictions made small stills impossible. In fact, over the Highland districts legal distillation was practically prohibited in order to concentrate the industry in the larger distilleries of the south. Yet barley had to be disposed of or rents could not be paid.¹

There were thus two sides to the smuggling business ; introducing stuff which had escaped the duty, and the manufacturing of whisky under illegal conditions, which therefore

¹ There was also a distilling of rum from treacle.

again had to be sold clandestinely. Both practices flourished in Arran; in time smuggled salt and illicit whisky, and particularly the latter, became the staples of this commingling of industry and adventure.

Excise officers and revenue cutters were now familiar objects, and wits were constantly working to elude both. Many are the stories told of evading or deceiving the gaugers, of perilous night runs to hide the kegs in the sand on the mainland shore, of baffling officers hot on the scent of some secret still by a burn side, of fierce struggles for the coveted goods, even of bloodshed. But tales of this type are common to all Scotland. Rich and poor, high and low, for profit as agents, for cheapness as buyers, were implicated in the method of a traffic which, from its conditions and gambling nature, was subtly demoralising. At the same time, to the people it seemed as if they were maintaining a fight against an oppression which sought to deprive them of a legitimate method of turning their industry to account in the only way possible to them, and by which alone they could secure the means of meeting the rent which provided an income for the very men who, as magistrates, had to convict them. Hence, too, no little connivance and laxity on the part of these same authorities.¹

Instead of retelling at length tales of a type familiar from different parts of the country in which gaugers are the victims or oppressors, it is more profitable to devote space to some typical cases on record, which are drawn from Arran.

The earliest of these comes from the Kirk Session Records of Kilmorie parish, and is best explained by presenting a

¹ In Kilmorie, at least, it was not considered a disreputable pursuit, and there were 'few if any in the parish who at some period of their lives were not engaged in some department of smuggling. To the smuggler no stigma was attached on account of his employment; on the contrary, it was considered rather an honourable occupation, as exhibiting an intrepidity and art that acquired for their possessor a distinction in the minds of his companions. It was in the darkest night, and in the most tempestuous weather, when no cruiser would stand the gale, that, in his little skiff, the smuggler transported his cargo to the opposite shores of Ayrshire.'—*New Statistical Account*.

series of extracts relating to the case, final judgment upon which, however, is wanting :

(*Session*) *July* 16, 1711.—It is reported to the Sess. that John Hamilton Elder having taken on board Drawback tobacco in Clyde and deponed in the Custom house of Newport Glasgow that he would export it from Brittain and not reland it in any part whatsoever within the S'd Kingdom : notwithstanding of which oath he did put the sd tobacco on shore at Cambray he is therefore appoynted to be sum: against next Dyett.

July 29.—John Hamilton Sum: Cited, and compering confesses that he did but put the tobacco on shore in the Isle of Cambray, but denyes he gave his oath at the Custom house. The Session Suspends John Hamilton from his office of Eldership till further tryall of the business, and appoints the rest of the shipping to be sum: against next Dyett, viz : William Stirling in Strawhillan, James Fullerton in Brodick, and Patrick Hamilton in Glenshent.

August 19.—William Stirling being absent from the country the appointment is continued.

James Fullerton sum: cit: and compeiring declares that he knows not whether John Hamilton entred skipper and deponed in the Custom house, but that indeed the tobacco was landed in the little Cambray. The Session delays the business till the other witnesses compeir.

October 18.—John Hamilton sum: cit: and compeiring is further examined anent the report given of him and he confesses that about Candlemas 1709 he as Skipper of his own boat was fraughted by severall Merchands to take tobacco on board the which he actually did ; and that one of themselves or some other employed by them, ent'red Skipper and Merchand in the Custom house and that the sd tobacco was landed in the manner above confessed by himself and that he thought himself Guiltless upon the account he did not give his oath in the Custom house.

The crew of John Hamilton's boat are all appointed to be sum: against next Dyett.

(Nothing further.)

The next case is of a more serious colour. On *July* 4, 1754, three Arran men are on trial before the High Court

of Justiciary in Edinburgh for obstructing the officers of the Customs at Lamlash. They are James M'Kirdy, Thomas Hamilton, and Alexander Hamilton. The charge is of forcibly attacking, deforcing, and obstructing, in October 1753, 'Daniel Campbell, an officer of the Customs, and his assistants in the execution of their duty, in seizing and securing prohibited and uncustomed goods.' Found guilty, they were sentenced 'to be banished during their lives to one or other of His Majesty's Plantations in America, never to return to Scotland under pain of being whipped through the streets of Edinburgh by the hands of the Common Hangman, and to be banished again as aforesaid, and to remain in prison until a fit opportunity shall offer for their transportation—To the great satisfaction of all fair Traders.'

And so a long farewell to the unlucky M'Kirdy and his associates.

This case involved another, in so far as an Arran farmer, Archibald M'Killop, had tried to save M'Kirdy by the simple device of perjury. For this he was brought to trial in November, when he threw himself on the mercy of the court, and for his 'enormous and horrid crime' was banished for one year on the terms of a similar whipping if he returned before that time. Fortunately for M'Killop there was no duty on truth-telling, or he would have gone all the way of his friends.¹

No impost was so iniquitous as that upon salt, which restricted a necessity, starved the fishing industry, and gave an unwholesome stimulus to the manufacture of kelp. In the circumstances its record, while quite as serious, is even more repellent than that of the others. When a salt-boat was captured it was usually scuttled, sometimes even by the occupants, which disposed of the salt, not so easy to transfer as kegs of liquor; but not infrequently there was more serious business toward, as we here see :

¹ *Glasgow Courant*, 1754.

On Wednesday evening a young man was shot in a salt boat, between the Isles of Pladda and Arran, by a boat's crew belonging to Captain Dowie, of the *Prince Augustus Frederick*, Revenue Cutter. The crew of the smuggling boat having with their oars opposed that of the Revenue's boat making a seizure of it. It is to be lamented that the poor people on the coast should persevere in a trade which by the laws of our country subjects their property to seizure, and exposes their lives to destruction if they make any opposition to the officers of Revenue—There have of late years been several instances, where the lives of these unfortunate persons have been sacrificed when attempting a feeble resistance to preserve a few bolls of salt.' ¹

The next case affects the more familiar commodity, and carries on like evidence of the dangers run by the illicit traffickers :

27 March 1817.—In the afternoon, a boat, with smuggled whisky on board, set sail from the south end of Arran. After proceeding a short way, the crew observed a revenue cutter lying off, and put about. This was noticed by the cutter, and instantly a boat was manned with ten hands, and sent in pursuit. The smugglers reached the shore, and were in the act of carrying the whisky inland, when they were overtaken, and the spirits seized. Before the cutter's men could return to their boat, a number of the islanders collected, attacked them, and attempted to rescue the spirits. A dreadful scuffle ensued, in the course of which, two men and a woman were shot dead on the spot, and a boy and a girl wounded. The two men killed are named M'Kinnon, a father and son ; and the woman's name is Isabel Nichol.

9th September 1817.—This day, John Jeffrey, mate of the *Prince Edward* revenue cutter, was brought to trial in Edinburgh, on an indictment, charging him with having landed a party of the crew of the said cutter on the island of Arran, in the month of March last, in search of smuggled whisky, part of which he seized, and that he commanded his party to fire upon the people who assembled on that occasion, by which two men and one woman were mortally wounded, and died soon after. After an impartial investigation, from which it clearly appeared that the conduct of Mr. Jeffrey, who had been

¹ *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 1796, vol. 66, No. 3426 (Ayr, October 22).

distinguished for firmness and forbearance, was occasioned solely by the violence and outrage of a misguided multitude, and was absolutely necessary to defend the lives of those who were under his command, the jury, with the entire approbation of the Court, returned an unanimous verdict of *Not Guilty*.¹

With the decrease of duties and the relaxation of restrictions so that small distilleries became possible,² the temptations to smuggling fell off, while the watchfulness of officers, grown as astute as the smugglers themselves, increased the risks as the possible profits decreased. By 1793 three licensed distilleries were at work in the island, and besides what was consumed in these, the islanders found it the better bargain to send their barley to similar establishments at Campbeltown or to Ayr, Irvine, Saltcoats, and Greenock. Much furtive distilling, however, continued, though the art must have degenerated, when they took to distilling from sour beer imported from Ireland.

Still it must have proved profitable. In 1826 a father, son, and daughter from Arran were convicted, before the Excise court at Rothesay, of illicit distillation. They 'bore the appearance of great destitution,' nevertheless, by the end of the week they had paid their huge fine of £60.

Nor were even those caught always brought as far as the dock. True there were informers, but there were many more sympathisers, some even in the revenue ranks. A smuggler caught in the Shisken district was being tramped over to Brodick, his hands tied with a rope of which an exciseman, as it happened a native of the island, held the loose end. Silent messages passed between the two, and, in the growing darkness, the prisoner gnawed through his hempen fetters with his teeth and let his captors march on. When discovery came and the other officers accused the holder of the rope, that innocent held up his end with

¹ The *Scots Magazine*, vol. 79, p. 277; vol. 80 (vol. i. the *Edinburgh Magazine*, etc.), pp. 315-16.

² The salt duty was repealed in 1825.

the retort that he had faithfully stuck to what had been committed to his charge.

Much more serious in its details is the story of another prisoner, over whom hung the serious aggravation of having badly mauled an officer of excise. It was in the steamboat days, and he was being taken to Glasgow for trial. Being handcuffed and in a steamer he was allowed to move about, no way of escape being apparent. But in the narrows of the river the sympathising captain passed near and in Gaelic whispered to the victim that he would give him a chance if he could avail himself of it. Then the course of the boat was shifted to near the bank, and suddenly there was a heavy splash as the prisoner took the water and, a powerful swimmer, struck out the short distance to the shore. To the clamouring officers the captain protested that he dared not stop his ship, and so the refugee had all the time it took to reach the Broomielaw in which to get clear. A friendly smith rid him of his handcuffs and, in time, he made his way to safety in Australia.

Dan Cook in Largie Beag stood a siege in an artful fashion. The cutter had landed a search party too soon for Dan to get his still and material hidden out of the way, and two men were making for his house. As usual there was a passage-way through the house with a door at either end, and, knowing this, a gauger made for each entry. But each as he pushed open the door found a hay fork threatening him, and knew from experience that whoever was behind the weapon would not stop at tickling him with it. They could not know that Cook alone was there, holding two hay-forks tied at the butts. One gauger went off for assistance, whereupon Dan, a big strong fellow, issued upon the other, got him down and, with the assistance of his wife, trussed him with a rope and deposited him in a hole in the peat-stack. Then the compromising utensils were hurried off to concealment in a cave on the shore.

Up came the rest of the revenue crew with their firearms, which they discharged as a warning to the desperate garrison. 'Fire away!' shouted Dan, making his appearance, and, as his habit was, sniffing contemptuously as he rubbed his nose with his hand. Search was made for still and comrade, while the host followed round with (sniff, sniff) 'Search away.' The cries of their lost companion at last brought them to the peatstack, but Dan's best explanation was that the fellow must have tied himself up and insinuated himself among the peats. No other satisfaction could be got, and of the contraband there was now no trace.

Craigdhu was a namely place for secret distilling, where one practitioner was a muscular lady with a hug like a bear, who once nearly squeezed the life out of a gauger when she received his intrusion with an embrace.

By 1840 illicit distillation had been almost entirely suppressed so far as Kilmorie, the worse offender, was concerned.¹ In 1822 the smuggling of whisky was still well in vogue, as we can judge from the misfortune that befell Malcolm and Angus 'Sellers' and Alexander Crawford with their cargo of twelve casks from Brodick on the night of November 27. A wrecked boat, 'her mast broken by the beam,' and loose casks floated ashore between Ardrossan and Saltoats next morning, telling all of the disaster that could ever be known.² As late as 1860 we have a story of the landing in the south end of three casks of whisky that had paid no duty, which were pounced upon by the Excise officers. Invited to a friendly glass by a brother of the consignee in the inn at Lag, they returned to carry away the casks, from which, however, the whisky had in the interval been run into washing tubs, and replaced with salt water.

But this chapter would not contain all that is told of the sad, mad but exciting and profitable days, when up on

¹ *New Statistical Account.*

² *Glasgow Herald*, December 6, 1822.

the solitary moor by the burn side, the malt bubbled and the whisky trickled into the handy kegs, and on dark, stormy nights from the creeks on the coast, muffled and mysterious boats shot out on another venturesome run to expectant customers along the Ayrshire coast ; or when the gaugers in a sudden swoop upturned the innocent-looking straw heap or bedding to hunt for the offending liquor, countering the blows of angry men and of women more angry and desperate still.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHURCH AFTER THE REFORMATION

The two parishes after the Reformation—the ministers of Kilbride, of Kilmorie—Beith of Kilbride, the reverend slayer—the clerical dynasties—burning of the Kilmorie manse—the Kilmorie case at the Assembly—Rev. Wm. Shaw of the Gaelic Grammar and Dictionary—persecution of Shaw—the Session Records of Kilbride and Kilmorie, their contents—domestic and township quarrels—Sabbath breaking—education and schools—account of payments.

I

THE record of the churches of Arran has, in a previous chapter, been carried down to the Reformation; here it may now be continued for the respective parishes from the somewhat fuller information we possess for later times.

Under the new organisation both Kilbride and Kilmorie were, in 1600, attached to the Presbytery of Irvine; in 1638 Kilbride and presumably Kilmorie also formed part of the newly constituted Presbytery of Kinloch or Kintyre. A difficulty in the latter half of the seventeenth century led to the necessity of appointing Kilmorie 'to be under Kilbride, till they get a regularly constituted session.' The insular unity of the two chief churches is further illustrated by an entry in the Kilmorie Session Records for June 10, 1775, where a representation is made on behalf of that Kirk Session 'to the ministers and Kirk Session of both parishes that are in a manner a Collegiate charge.' In practice, however, each was an independent unit.

The Protestant succession did not start happily in the

case of Kilbride, despite the omen that its first minister on record, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, bore the name of John Knox and was a graduate of Glasgow University. He was deposed in 1649 for 'keeping change in his house, selling drink, etc.'¹ This was an old-time sore in the kirk, for in 1576 it is the judgment of the General Assembly that 'a minister or reader tapping aile, beare, or wine, or keeping open tavern, sould be exhorted by the Commissioners to keip decorum.'² Apparently this resource was one way of supplementing small and uncertain incomes, but the kirk's face was set against it, and by Knox's time even that excuse could no longer be made, since the financial position of the church had been substantially readjusted. Knox subsided into poverty.

His successor was 'Alexander M'Laine' of the Lochbuy Macleans,³ who was transferred to Kilbride from Kilmorie parish, which thereafter, for a time, lay desolate, and had to be served from the sister parish as explained above. John Cunison, who followed, had to meet the restoration of Episcopacy under Charles II., and, refusing that rule, was deprived in 1662. But he lived to be one of the sixty 'outed' clergymen restored to their livings after the Revolution of 1688, and from 1690 to 1692 again ministered in his old charge, till transferred to Killean, whence he had originally come to Arran.

Two others occupied the parish during the suspension of Cunison, and apparently Kilmorie also till 1688, of whom the first, Archibald Beith, clearly an alien, distinguished himself in a most unpastorlike manner. In 1671 a proclamation was issued authorising the lieges to prevent the

¹ Scott's *Fasti*, vol. iii. p. 41 ff.

² Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 377. The phrase 'keipe decorum' is ambiguous. It may mean that it was indecorous for a clergyman to keep a public-house at all.

³ 'Maclean' here represents the general spelling of the name. The Lochbuy branch use the form 'Maclaime.'

importation of victual from Ireland, and seize the same wherever there should be an attempt at landing. On April 27 of the same year, a boat with such a cargo put into Lamash, and Beith with an armed company took possession. In his temporary absence the crew forcibly recovered their property and set sail, but the Rev. Mr. Beith and his party pursued in a second boat, and, when the others refused to surrender, fired on them, killing Allan Gardiner, a merchant of Irvine, and one of the crew. For this exploit the militant churchman was tried in Edinburgh before the High Court, and sentenced to be hanged at the Cross. The sentence was remitted by the King, but apparently Beith was not again inflicted on Arran, for, on his way back, he solicited the Town Council of Rothesay for help and liberty to beg for a living. He got £20 (Scots) but no licence as a beggar.

Alexander Cameron, who filled his place, had to retire on the downfall of the Episcopalian establishment in 1689, making way for Cunison, the ex-Presbyterian incumbent, and, like his contemporary in Kilmore, found suitable occupation in the Church of Ireland.

From this point we pass through a period of dynastic succession in the pulpit of Kilbride, in which the revival of Patronage by the Act of 1712 was to help. For six years (1692-98) Mr. 'Archibald M'Laine' had the charge, when he accepted a call to a parish in Ireland. These clerical movements to the larger island indicate how the old road that way was still open and easy. M'Laine in his day had a reputation as a Gaelic scholar, and from 1655 to 1660 was engaged, for the Synod of Argyll, upon translations of portions of the Old Testament and metrical psalms into that language. His three sons all became ministers, and the eldest, Daniel, followed him in Kilbride, dying there after nineteen years' service (1722). The next dynasty, which was of Stewarts, covered a hundred years. It came in under patronage of the Duke of Hamilton. James Stewart had first officiated for a

year as catechist at Loch Ranza, when in May 1723 he was ordained, as presentee, to Kilbride, remaining there for thirty years before he was transferred to Kilmorie. Into his place stepped his son Gershom, already assistant and successor, who ministered fifty years and died at the age of seventy-eight, in 1796. He was thus contemporary with the changes to be expounded in the next chapter, and he wrote the account of the parish for Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of the Parishes of Scotland*. Gershom's son and successor, John, completes the line, having served in Kilbride for thirty-one years, and dying in 1825 at the age of seventy-two.

Following the Stewarts comes Mr. Allan M'Naughton, in whose time was opened a new church at Brodick (1839). As the author of the much more elaborate account of the parish in the *New Statistical Account*, he tells us the building cost about £850, of which the Duke of Hamilton contributed £100, and the inhabitants of Brodick and summer visitors £150, while £448 was raised by subscription on the mainland procured by the energetic minister himself. In 1844 Mr. M'Naughton by translation to another sphere, made way for the Rev. Colin F. Campbell.

Turning to Kilmorie we note, first, two M'Alisters for the closing years of the sixteenth century. When Bishop Thomas Knox reported on the island in 1626 he observes that ecclesiastically 'it is servit by Mr. Johne Knoxe and James M'Quiriter,' and that the Bishop (of the Isles) has fifty merks a year from the island as the third of the teinds. John Knox is the Kilbride incumbent who made his manse a change-house, and the second name is M'Kirdy. The latter by 1643 was considered by the Synod as having become unfit through old age, and they had in hand to depose him; but probably the soon sorely troubled state of the country prevented this measure, for in 1648 the aged M'Kirdy is still hanging on. After M'Alisters, M'Laines; for M'Kirdy's successor at last is Alexander of the Lochbuy Macleans, who

acted for less than a twelvemonth (April to October 1651) before he was summoned to Kilbride. From this date till 1688 we have no intimation of any clergyman in Kilmorie. Then another M'Lean, this time hailing from Coll and Episcopal, who was accordingly deprived after the Revolution, having been minister for only a few months, and who, as we might guess, found a home in Ireland.

Then come two successive Bannatynes, the first being the Rev. Dugald in 1701. In his time occurred the memorable fire at the manse, November 7, 1710, of which the cause remained unknown 'unless it was from the air,' that is by lightning, according to the expression in the Session Records, where the account is as follows, dated five days after:

It being known to all the paroch, that the Manse was, in the holy and most wise providence of God burnt to ashes, with all the furniture therein except a very little but that all the souls therein were signally and wonderfully preserved. The Minister reports that the two Communion Cups belonging to this Isle together with the two Cups belonging to the Lowland Congregation of Campbeltown, with the Sum of thirty pounds Scots of poors money collected at the time of the Sacrament last all were lost with ye fire which was upon the Seventh day of this date of this instant, betwixt five and eight of the Clock in the morning.

Another notice of this surprising event informs us that, 'Nothing escaped but he (Mr. Bannatyne) and his wife, and their servants, with their lives, by leaping out at the windowes.'¹ Part of the old fabric remains in the present manse, which thus may claim to be the oldest inhabited manse in Scotland. Mr. Bannatyne died in 1748 after a ministry of forty-seven years, and the Charles Bannatyne who immediately followed was his son, but he remained for only nine years, while his successor was transferred from Kilbride, the father of the Rev. Gershom, who spent his last nine years in the western parish.

¹ Woodrow's *Analecta or History of Remarkable Providences*, vol. i. p. 307.

Three years before his death Mr. Stewart and his parish became implicated in one of the disputed cases that were arising out of the practice of Patronage, which had already forced one secession from the Church of Scotland and was in time to cleave it in twain. To be assistant and successor to the aged Mr. Stewart, the Duke of Hamilton had presented another Mr. James Stewart of Kilwhinlick, who had been minister of Kingarth in Bute. That living he had lost through a perfectly irrelevant but discreditable action. He had gone to give notice of removal to a woman who was a cottar on the estate of Kilwhinlick (Stewarthall) and apparently got into dispute over the business, for he threatened to set the house on fire unless she removed. The woman responded by handing him a burning peat and challenging him to put his threat in execution, which the reverend gentleman incontinently proceeded to do, so that the house was burned to the ground. This incident long kept in local minds the memory of 'Master Sheumais.'¹

This, then, was the man now presented to the parish of Kilmorie, and a majority of the Presbytery of Kintyre in February 1758 sustained the presentation. Two members, however, appealed to the Synod of Argyll, and Mr. Stewart, sen., who had not been able to attend the meeting of the Presbytery, entered an appeal to the General Assembly. On March 23 the Presbytery again met, and over this question divided equally, Mr. Gershom Stewart, who was Moderator, being among the objectors. Neglecting the appeals, three of the ministers now proceeded to admit Mr. James Stewart, and, as the opposite party in Kilmorie had taken possession of the church, the ceremony had to be performed in the churchyard. This was high-handed and irregular, and the Assembly met the case by suspending Mr. John Hamilton, minister of Skipness, for three months, and passing a severe censure on his two colleagues in the offence.² The dominat-

¹ *Annals of the Assembly*, 1752-66, p. 160.

² *Ibid.*

ing moderate party in the Assembly were at least most regardful of proper ecclesiastical procedure.

Comes now, as in other Arran tales, the paradoxical close of this one. Mr. Stewart died in 1761, and in July of the year following was admitted his successor, and that successor no other than the aforesaid John Hamilton, transferred from Saddell, who administered the parish till his death in 1798, being seventy-seven years old and a minister for forty-four. Under continuous pressure from him a new church was at last built in 1785, and divine service was 'performed for the first time in the New Kirk' on December 4 of that year,¹ the minister giving 'a discourse suitable to the occasion.' This same Mr. Hamilton made report on the parish for the *Statistical Account*.

Mr. Duncan Smith came to Kilmorie with a reputation as an Oriental scholar, though in 1799 only twenty-seven years of age. He died two years later, and his successor (1802) was Mr. Neil M'Bride, son of Patrick M'Bride, farmer at Achancairn. Thirteen years was his term in Arran, but never had there been a time of such religious enthusiasm as marked his concluding years. Of this experience more will have to be said in a subsequent section.

On Mr. M'Bride's death the people were fain to have the ministrations of Mr. Angus M'Millan, catechist at Loch Ranza, a man of kindred temperament, but the patron gave preference to Mr. Dugald Crawford, once assistant to Mr. John Hamilton in the parish, and since 1799 minister at Saddell, where in 1805 he had wished to resign his charge on account of advanced years (he was fifty-three) and the distances he had to travel. But the Presbytery, out of their affection and regard for him, declined his resignation, and he was ten years older when he was translated to Kilmorie.

There he had an unpleasant experience. The people, in a mood for the pressed grapes of a zealous young evangelical,

¹ Session Records.

were not to be put off with the gleanings of a kindly old man, and in a mass they deserted the parish church, never to return during the six years of Mr. Crawford's presence. Meantime, under the direction of one of their number,¹ they continued services in the great cave on the shore below Kilpatrick, where dissenting ministers occasionally came to preach to them and administer baptism and communion.

Unfortunate to the last, Crawford was drowned by the foundering of the boat in which he was crossing from Greenock to Arran on March 16, 1821. The boat had passed Cumbræ and was half way over when a squall, bringing a rain-cloud, burst upon it and sent all to the bottom, including three other passengers, a student and two young men. Mr. Crawford was a man of corpulent build. He is reported to have been 'universally esteemed and beloved—extensively charitable to the poor and affectionate to the stranger,' qualifications which 'endeared him to his numerous circle of friends and acquaintances.'²

He is garlanded with the authorship of a brochure of which the title smacks of the seventeenth rather than the nineteenth century—*A Mental Toothpick for the Fair Sex*. Mr. Crawford does not seem to have been married.

But that ill wind at last blew to Kilmorie Kirk the man of their choice, when the presentation of the Rev. Angus M'Millan was made good in 1822. Twenty-one years later Mr. M'Millan 'came out' at the Disruption, and a new chapter had opened in the ecclesiastical history of Arran.

A clerical son of Kilmorie, though never a pastor there, was the distinguished William Shaw, a native of Clachaig, who in 1778 published the second effort at a Gaelic grammar as *An Analysis of the Gaelic Language*, which ran to two

¹ Mr. William Mackinnon, who in 1836 was the 'patriarch of Arran.' At that date he was in poor circumstances, having been deprived of his farm and reduced to the position of a mere cottar with a house and piece of land.—Lord Teignmouth's *Sketches*, etc., vol. ii. pp. 397-8.

² *Glasgow Herald*, March 30, 1821.

editions in the same year. A couple of years later he brought out a similar pioneer work in 'A Gaelic and English Dictionary, containing all the words in the Scottish and Irish dialects of the Celtic, that could be collected from the voice and old books and MSS., followed by an English and Gaelic Dictionary, etc.' The book was published at two guineas.

But Shaw had done a rash thing which wrought him woe. The controversy over the authenticity of Macpherson's *Ossian* was at its thickest and most passionate, and Shaw declared himself on the side of Dr. Johnson in refusing to accept the work as genuine—the right side in the main, though not so entirely right as Dr. Johnson would have had it. At once his furious compatriots turned upon Shaw. Some subscribers sent back their volumes with the excuse that there were too many Irish words in the alleged Gaelic Dictionary. Others refused to pay without returning the book. The plea was that Shaw had not produced a work in accord with the prospectus, which promised a strictly Gaelic dictionary; the real motive was ill-will over what had been said about the Ossianic literature. The case went to the Court of Session, where a decision was given in Shaw's favour, on the ground that, though he had not strictly fulfilled the terms of the prospectus, he had not been guilty of any fraud, and that the book answered the definition of a Gaelic Dictionary, albeit, what was true, there was more Irish than Scottish Gaelic in it. The explanation of this characteristic is not flattering. Outside educated Highlanders he found he could not get the people to supply him with words except for payment; they fancied he was going to make a fortune out of his hobby. A method of turning Gaelic into much fine gold has not yet been discovered. But when he crossed to Ireland he found the peasantry there more sensibly obliging, while he was also given facilities for consulting MSS. For these reasons was his Dictionary so heavily loaded with Irish. But though Shaw triumphed in the court, he was

a beaten man, and in disgust he entered the Church of England, in which country a living worth £200 a year was found for him, it may be strongly suspected through the influence of Dr. Johnson.

II

The intimate chronicles of the island are written in the Kirk Session Records of the respective parishes. The earliest volume for Kilbride begins its entries on December 21, 1704, and closes on August 3, 1749 : the volume to follow has disappeared. Kilmorie has some fragmentary entries for 1702, including a meeting of Session in the King's Cave on October 26 of that year, and thereafter the Record continues in excellent condition, some of it beautifully written, until May 1729. From this date till 1762 there is a gap, with the exception of a few loose leaves engrossing meetings in 1736-37, but from 1762 the Minutes are continuous. Meetings in the King's Cave, it may be observed, are fairly frequent ; it was a central though draughty place.

In all such records throughout Scotland there is a sad similarity. Occupied for most with the frailties of human nature they paint a picture in which the shadows are too extensive and too deep. The figures who pass in review before the senate of elders are mainly sinners or 'objects' in poverty ; the first in person for trial and judgment, the second in name for charitable assistance. Nor are the members of the court themselves necessarily held to be above suspicion ; even the judges are subjected to judgment. An entry taken at random gives an example of this self-examination, while disclosing the preliminary stage in a Session process : 'The minister appointed a privy censure concerning the carriage and behaviour of the members of the Session, and finding nothing in their conversation but what was suitable, therefore exhorted them to their duty. The elders being inquired if there was any scandal within their re-

spective bounds, answered negatively.' So far as the latter part was concerned, neither in Kilbride nor in Kilmorie had they many such blank days. 'They did make love to this employment.'

There were four things which Solomon confessed to be too wonderful for him, and it is the last of these of which the Session takes most cognisance. Without their steady tally of amorous offences they would not have had much to do. Such cases often drag on their deleterious detail from meeting to meeting, securing, as is inevitable, their full due of publicity and morbid gossip. Social conditions, no doubt, helped in overdoing things. Cramped quarters, promiscuous accommodation, lonely stretches, long dark nights and leisure without distraction made a good deal possible. But one example shows how the form of control itself might encourage a taste for notoriety. A long entry in the Kilbride Register recounts a charge against a young woman which was proved to be baseless, and the concoction of the other self-accused offender acting 'out of a private pique of self-desires.' And that is not the only case of deliberate slander for personal ends.

Domestic quarrels, too, come within the purview of the court; apparently husband and wife had tiffs occasionally in those days and put angry feelings into foolish words, 'but dust that rises up and is lightly laid again.' Rarely is there anything serious in such 'jars and contentions'; on more than one occasion at least it is set down as due to trifles or 'mere wilfulness and pride'; once in 1705 there is a case from Glenree where the wife can only account for the row by the fact that 'he being grinding tobacco, she accidentally spilt it'; enough to provoke the most Christian snuffer.¹

Nor was it uncommon for neighbours to fall out² and

¹ Tobacco was dried and ground to a powder in the 'snuff-mill,' whence the latter name for snuff-box.

² 'Katherine M. Arrantoun complained against Mary M. in Mouimore for taking away her honest name by reporting to neighbours that she stole her bee skeps.'—*Feb. 7, 1729.*

exchange distorted opinions of each other, while it was a most offensive accusation to hurl a charge of witchcraft at any one, about as offensive as to use expressions into which 'God' or 'the devil' entered. However, it is evidence of change for the better that witchcraft, once so serious a charge, had now become merely a term of abuse.

KILBRIDE, *June 28, 1713*.—E. S. in Blairmore 'answers that they being lately in company together with the rest of the women of the town, milking their Kous (cows), they were talking of ane apparition which was reported to have appeared lately to severall persons in the countrey, and that Katrine K. said in the meantime It is the spirit of some person deceased who left some money hid, God send it in my way to inform me where the gold is, and that the nixt day when Katrine was abusing her she said that she was a poor wretch who for the love of gear prayed God to send the Divell in her way to inform her of money or a treasure.' Katrine's explanation was that she spoke 'in jest,' but her unsanctified notion of a joke came under sessional censure. This is, however, only an incident in the life of a turbulent township, which provides an earlier chapter as follows :

Aug. 3, 1712.—'It is reported to the Session that there is a continuall disagreement betwixt the inhabitants of Blairmore in such ane open manner that people of other touns about hear them scolding and flyting, and that this day, without any regard to the Sabbath, E. S., spouse to W. S. there, was seen gathering her lap full of stones and running after her neighbours cattle, throwing the stones at them; wherefore she and the rest of the inhabitants of that toun are appointed to be summoned against next dyett.

'*Aug. 5*.—E. S. sum. cit. and compeiring confesses her stoning the cattle out of the corn and grass, and that it was a fault in her to do it in such a manner on the Lord's Day, but alledges it is her neighbour's fault to let their

cattle in the corn. The Session finding that there is a continual strife between the inhabitants of Blarmore about this corn and grass, think fitt to rebuke them sessionallie they promising to live in peace henceforth and forgiving one another all alledged inquiries past.'

But things weren't really allowed to stop at this point, for one particular incident is pursued further: 'Effie M. complains that Elspa S. said to her and other women in the toun that she saw them sitting upon the highway and that they had a dish of her flesh among them, meaning that they were backbiting her, and that her daughter replied, "Mother, if they had a dish of your flesh, the Divell give them bread to it," and that it was on the Sabbath day she said it.' When the case against the daughter came up on September 2, the young woman denied the charge, but nothing further could be done, as the women who were witnesses were 'att harvest in the mainland.' In a meeting of January the year after the daughter is found guilty of 'prophanation of the Lord's day by impious unchristian expressions,' and is to be rebuked publicly next Sabbath.

This was the mildest form of punishment. More serious was that incurred by a son in Achancairn who had acted in an hysterical blustering way towards his mother and sister; he had to 'stand in sack-cloth before the Congregation as often as shall be thought necessarie'; he was lucky in not having to pay for his own garment of repentance, which was to be procured by the beadle. That it had to be made shows it was not in great demand. The most serious misdemeanour in the list brought a fine in addition to the public appearance, the penalties ranging from £1 to £9 Scots, which went to the church funds. But fines weren't many, for all the fuss: May 1725 to May 1726 shows only four. When repentance is made adequately manifest, a certificate of absolution is given.

And behind the Session was the 'civil magistrate,' whose

secular arm might be invoked to carry out the ecclesiastical decree.¹ One woman under grave suspicion is warned that, if brought up again, 'none will be allowed to enter her door, but that she will be banished.' And in 1738 we have the minister at Kilbride appointed 'to apply to the magistrate for banishing Alex. Campbell out of the Parish, being excommunicated by the Synod of Argyle.'

There was indeed a sort of passport system in existence, any person going from one parish to reside in another having to possess a certificate from the Session, or run grave risk of suspicious circumstances.²

The Session conducted its cases by the examination of witnesses, and its powers were sufficient to ensure that witnesses should attend. When a conflict of evidence occurred or the accused persisted in denial, the matter might be referred to the Presbytery, or in the last resource the accused would be called upon to take the 'oath of purgation,' of which highly coloured formula a specimen occurs in the Kilmore volume.

Oct. 25th, 1705

OATH OF PURGATION

I, M—— Mc—— does solemnly swear by the Great God, Creator of Heaven and Earth that I never had—nor know—and if I lye in this matter or do not speake truth, then I wish and pray with my whole soul that God may confound me with some visible judgement or other, that I may never prosper or thrive in this world, but that all my goods and geir may suddenly vanish and perish and that I may be a beggar and a vagabond & stricken with some loathsome distemper or disease till death seize me & that I may forever be

¹ KILBRIDE, *March 17, 1725*.—'The Session appoints every servand within the Parish, that hath not paid the Bell money to be instantlie poulded at their instance.' A levy was in process to buy a new bell.

² KILBRIDE, *March 30, 1735*.—'Mary M. having gone to Ireland four years agoe without a testificate from this, and being summoned, etc., did produce a certificate from Ireland, with which the Session was not satisfied,' etc.

banished from God and the society of the blessed and holy Angels and Saints, and shut up with Devils in the eternal torments of Hell for ever and ever.

Yet, even with this danger signal set, there are some plain cases of hard swearing, and though submissiveness is the general attitude of the people throughout, one does find a female rebel in the person of Mary H. in Peighinn who, it is reported, did 'behave herself very insolently towards the minister at a public examination, confidently refusing in face of the meeting to make answer when questioned upon the heads of her faith—and she swearing once by Mary and again by her soul before all present.' (1704.)

The numerous allusions to and expositions of witchcraft will find notice in another chapter. A third great class of transgressions is that of Sabbath-breaking. Aggravation of this character has appeared in cases already cited, but the offence is grave enough in itself, and a few examples will help towards the illustration of the domestic life of the island. In July 1706 two Hamiltons, one skipper in Largie Beag, the other skipper in Mayish, being lately at a fair in Ayr, are accused of having launched 'their respective boats to the sea from a safe place upon the Sabbath day, and loaded their boats,' and that the Mayish skipper 'put a kow on board his boat on the said day.' On trial they 'doe not deny but they drew their boats within the sea mark on the said day, they being lying on the dry land before; but deny that they put any goods on board till Monday morning.' Convicted 'of breach of the Sabbath by an unnecessary work,' they are appointed to be publicly rebuked before the congregation.

June 18, 1710.—Two 'servitors to Robert Hamilton in Cordan have been latly guiltie of breach of Sabbath by putting on board meall in a yoall (yawl) at Lochransay upon the morning of the said day, and tho' in a safe place loosed from that in order to come home, but being beat off the land

by a sudden storm they were forced to the mainland to the hazard of their lives ; which people look upon as a manifest token of God's displeasure against them for breach of this day.' For the defence it is explained (June 25) ' that they loaded upon Saturday's night, but upon the Sabbath morning being somewhat stormie, and they rideing at the stern of the boat from which they got the meall, the boatmen obliged them to cast loose and betake themselves to some port and they thought it fittest to come home, being afraid to touch the shore for fear of waiters (preventive men), the meall having come from Ireland.' Importation of Irish victual was apparently still under the ban, and this was clearly smuggling. The Session is not taken in by such subtleties, and one offender is rebuked in their presence, the other, because he ventured to dispute whether actually a breach had been committed, had to suffer his rebuke in public.

Other instances are of a man who 'transported a horse from the main to this isle on the Sabbath day,' and of a M'Kelvie who went, on the forbidden day, to Shisken 'to bring home an horse.' Some offenders took a very naïve way out. A woman reported to have been 'spinning her rock on the Sabbath day' pleaded that 'she had forgotten it was the Sabbath.'¹

Moreover it was almost as heinous to take liberties with the Fast Day, for all it was a Thursday. A Clachland farmer accused of 'putting malt in the kiln the fast day and drying of it, replied that the malt would spoil' (June 3, 1721). Sorrow 'for his sin' and a promise not to be guilty again got him off with a private rebuke.

There were other modes of infringing upon the Sabbath sanctity, which raised the issue on broader lines, such as the practice of burying and digging graves on that day, a

¹ KILBRIDE, *July 9, 1710*.—'It is delated to the Session that there were two goats put on board the packett boat upon the Sabbath day lately and carried to the mainland that said day, etc.'

practice which the Kilbride Session seek to divert by making official arrangements for these necessities, and not leaving them to private enterprise. Equally with funerals were marriages apt to encroach; apparently owing to the fact that this was the only day of full leisure. But action against this custom is made the excuse for a serious claim upon those embarking on the adventure of married life. Kilmore leads off, and we may observe how artfully and ungrammatically the terrible fiat is interwoven with the matter on hand.

19th November 1713.—The Session considering that a great many young Men & Women within the parish neglect thro' sloth and Laziness to commit to their memories, & that such as design Marriage have a bad custom of making their contracts on Saturday which occasions their encroaching on the Lords Day & that they do likewise come to give in the Marriage Bonds on the Sabbath morning & also finding that such as after Marriage lose their consignations occasion a great deal of trouble to that Session before they can get them up from them. They therefore in order to redress the said Enormities do by these presents enact & appoint that all such as design Marriage, before they be booked in order to proclamation, repeat all the Questions in the Shorter Catechism, both man or woman, whether old or young, likewise that they make no agreement on Saturday & that they give in their Bonds of Proclamation before Sabbath come & that they consign the dollars or a sufficient pledge to the value of them in hands of the Session Clerk. Such as 'Contravene this Act, and fail in the premises they shall be censured as the Session shall think fit and this to be intimate the next Lords Day both here & at Clachan.'

There was a preaching-house at Clachan. Kilbride is somewhat later in thus hedging the marriage ceremony with briars, and laxer too in so far as a way out is provided, though a hard one.

Dec. 5, 1731.—'It is enacted by the Session to prevent abounding ignorance that none in this parish shall obtain

the benefit of marriage unless they have the Assembly's Shorter Catechism by heart, under the penalty of five merk Scots, which any such person, wanting said Catechism by heart, is to pawn in the hands of the thesaurer (treasurer) of poors box, and which he is to forfeit unless he learn said questions within the space of a year after his said marriage.' Here one would infer that the restriction is to the bridegroom, though it is not likely such an unfair discrimination was made. After these dates, in Kilmore and Kilbride, may we take it that the love idylls of Arran resolved themselves into a mutual exercise in the Shorter Catechism in the quiet places favoured by such scenes? or, alternatively, that there was this drop of gall in the honeymoon cup?

The alleged 'ignorance' of the parishioners may be variously interpreted, but provision for education was of the most meagre all over Scotland, and what we can gather of its condition in Arran, little as it is, reflects rather more credit than would appear if taken apart from the rest of the country. Several Acts had been passed by the Scottish Parliament with the intention of providing a school and schoolmaster in each parish, the expense to be assessed equally upon heritors and tenants; all met with equal and barefaced neglect. Neither party was keen to incur an education rate. Thus such provision as was made came from the efforts of the Church, and the Session-courts of Arran are not remiss, though severely restricted in means. The education of the island is in their hands; they empower a man to teach or forbid him as the case may be. And they are willing to help scholars, though the numbers of these are never many. Here are some items.

KILMORIE, *May 6, 1703*.—The Session 'gave a groat to a poor scholar in order to by a Psalm book—Item to Angus Kerr Schoolmr. in Killmory two Shilling Sterling for teaching three poor scholars for one quarter. Item to Ronald M'Alaster Schoolmaster in Sheskin for 2 poor scholars a quarter Sixteen Shilling Scots.'

KILMORIE, *March 28, 1704*.—The Session find that there is no house founded either for School or Schoolmr, & that neither of them can be wanting if they Design to have a constant School in the place, did unanimously agree that there should be fourtie pounds Scots given out of the Mulets (fines) for building the sd (said) house and entrusts the Schoolmr Angus Kerr to fall furthwith about providing timber for the same and to employ a good workman skilled in Mason work, and that the sd house consists of fourtie-two foot in length and thretten in breadth, with 3 Gaviles and 3 Couples and 2 doors on ye side thereof together w(it)h sufficient lights, and that it be all built of Stone and Clay without divot except one going or two upon the top of ye wall thereof this is to be the form and extent thereof according to appointment by the Session. In regard the Session is Informed that the sd Angus Kerr is not so carefull in attending the School & teaching his Scholars as were desireable they hereby certifie to him that if it be afterwards found that he does not attend the School or profite the Children, that he shall be removed from the sd office, even if it were in the midst of a term, and to the end that they may the better know, if the children be profiting under him, they appoint the minister and one of the elders to go once a month to visite the School and try the children what they are profiting under him.

KILMORIE, *June 22nd, 1715*.—The Session allows I. H. her fine to Angus Ker Schoolmaster at Killmory to buy a Latin & English Dictionary for the use of the School at this place, & the said Angus Ker obliges himself under the pain of twenty pound Scots to produce the said Dictionary or be accountable for the Money betwixt & Hallowday next.

KILBRIDE, *Nov. 10, 1715*.—The Session recommends to James Hamilton in Kings Cross to agree with some person about the building of a schoolhouse in the district of Glenasdale.

There is evidence too of parental concern about the education of the young. In 1703 the inhabitants of Achanhew are anxious to have the school removed to that place from Baile Meadhonach, 'upon account of the watter intervening hindering their children' from attending at the latter place.

The Session's judgment, however, is in favour of 'Ballymainoch as the most central place.'

Similar difficulties over rural centres occur on the east side :

June 15, 1709.—The Session considering the detriment children have sustained hitherto by the School being at the Kirk it being too excentrical, appoint the School to be removed to Arrantoun.

April 15, 1711.—The Session considering the great loss the people between Lergibeg and Kingscross sustain for want of a School, and withall the small encouragement provyded for a schoolmaster in that district ; they therefore annex that to the district of Kilbryde with the Sallarie settled upon it, and exact that the schoolmaster of Kilbryde shall be oblided to hyre one to teach children in the said bounds from Martinmas to May yearly and that the Schoolmaster of Kilbryde have the sallarie of that district as it is, he paying him who so serves for the term foresaid.

A further example is the appeal by Alex. M'Cook in Shennachie for help out of the poor box in payment of having his son taught Latin. Kilmorie was already bilingual, though Gaelic for the most part, and the following extract is worth noting :

July 29, 1712.—The Session finding there are many of the people that seldom attend Service in the English Language tho' there are many that speak the Language in the Parish, they therefore appoint the Minister after sermon to call on their names that have the Language & that such as are absent from 2 Dyets successively, be obliged to compear before Session & give in the reasons of their absence, & also to be practised with respect to the Sermon in Irish (Gaelic).

A citation from Kilbride bears upon the same point at an earlier date, while also suggesting ability to read on a larger scale than might be expected from some of our evidence :

Dec. 21, 1704.—The Session has recommended to the moderator

to buy twenty Irish (Gaelic) psalm-books for the use of the parishioners; and to that end have ordered the Theasaurer to advance him money : and these books to be sold again at such a rate as shall be condescended upon for making up the said money for the use of the poor.

In 1727 we have notice of seven copies of the Confession of Faith in Gaelic being presented to the parish and dispersed through it by the elders.

Of Kilbride's schoolmastering such indications as we have are not flattering, but of course they represent only exceptional circumstances ; as thus :

March 30, 1732.—John McMaster Schoolmr at Kiskadel represents before the Session that he has but one or two scholars at school and craves he may be allowed to desist from teaching them till his scholars become more numerous, which desire the Sess: saw reasonable & Consented theirto.

Kilbride was unfortunate in its teachers : *June 26, 1729.*—‘ John Burk being called by a letter to him from the Session because he kept school when discharged did compear and owns that he taught two scholars privatelie in a house for food upon necessity ; he begs at this time to be relaxed promising to ammend his life ’ : publicly rebuked, though the enormity of the offence is not apparent. In the following account it is :

Sep. 26, 1714.—The Session hearing that Neill M. schoolmaster at Arrantoun has been lately intemperate through drink and that he is given to tipling, and that upon that date of his intemperance he jangled with his wife ; the said Neill being interrogat anent this report confesses that he was intemperat upon Wednesday was a fortnight with Rumm, being a kind of liquor with which he was not acquainted and which deceived him, etc., etc. ;

wherefore he is sessionally admonished, etc.

The Session enact that the schoolmaster at Arrantoun and Glenasdale be yearly chosen at Martinmas by the Session ; that is to say the schoolmaster att Arrantoun is to be chosen and he is to

choyse the other, and the Session to be satisfied with him before he intrmitt with the School.

At last in 1802 came an Act which put the business of education upon a sounder and more generous footing, after generations of complaints from grossly underpaid teachers. Of the result in Kilbride we have an account left, but it may be assured that it was parallel to what was done in Kilmorie.

KILMORY KIRK, 2 OCT. 1804

Met here this day.

James Lamont Esq. of Knockdow, Factor to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton on his Grace's Estate in Arran, and Revd. Neil MacBride, Minister of Kilmory parish and proceeded to consider the Act of Parliament anent the settlement of Parochial Schoolmasters, and considering the extent of this parish and population thereof, proceeded according to the eleventh section of the Act, and in all time coming allow the Schoolmasters, to be paid as follows, to the Schoolmaster at Kilmory twelve pounds Six shillings & Eight pence Sterling, to the Schoolmaster at Shisken Nine pounds Six shillings & Eight pence Sterling, to the Schoolmaster at Lochranza four pound Sterling, to the Schoolmaster at Imachar four pounds Sterling, and to the Schoolmaster at Drumlabarra Mill four pounds Sterling ; and to be paid quarterly at the following rates, for reading English alone two shillings Sterling, for reading English and writing two shillings & Sixpence Sterling, for writing and Arithmetic, three shillings and Sixpence Sterling, for book-keeping one pound Sterling, for Navigation one pound ten Shillings sterling, for teaching Latin five shillings Sterling. That Archibald M'Kenzie is continued as a teacher at Kilmory *pro tempore*, but that no teacher in future shall be eligible for Kilmory but one who is qualified to teach latin, and that the whole teachers in the above districts shall teach the Gaelic Language and that the Schoolmaster at Kilmory shall also be qualified to teach Church Musick ; and as it has been a custom with the Schoolmasters in this parish to teach two quarters of the year only, it is hereby ordained that they are not to vacate their School at any time of the year except in harvest, and that not exceeding Six weeks, and

if they neglect to do so they shall not be entitled to uplift any part of their Salary.

An ambitious programme truly, but one indicating a very sound appreciation of what was to be desired.

We may now give some definite details as to the educational institutions of the island before the Education Act of 1875. For 1793 information is available only for Kilmorie, where there were two parochial schools, the 'principal' of one drawing a salary of £50 Scots (one-twelfth of sterling money) and of the other £40 Scots; one half, in each case, being paid by the Duke, the other half by the tenants of the districts. No doubt, though this is not specifically said, such schoolmasters had also a free house; and there were fees, too, as a supplement, the scholars paying as 'wages' 1s. a quarter for reading, 1s. 6d. for writing, and 2s. 6d. for arithmetic; while as session-clerks the schoolmasters had individually £6 Scots per annum with 1s. for every marriage and 6d. for a baptism, the two latter being of course charges on the parties concerned. School attendance averaged 50, but there were in addition 'many petty schools.' Long distances and wretched roads made such inevitable. But it is to be hoped that the inhabitants got better schooling than they paid for.

Things are considerably improved by 1837-40. By that time, and probably since 1802, the parish of Kilbride had six schools, four of these dividing the maximum salary for parochial schools thus: Lamlash £19, Brodick £16, Corrie £4, and Loch Ranza £6; but the last was a joint school with Kilmorie, from which the teacher had as much again. All these had free houses from the Duke. In 1823 the Church established what were known as Assembly Schools, and of these there was one at Whiting Bay, the head of which was rich on £25 a year; and Lamlash had a private school. The children in attendance at all the schools numbered about 450. Fees were at the same rate



CATACOL BAY.

[Photo by Dr. C. Fred. Pollock, Glasgow.

as on the mainland, but 'the people being generally poor,' the best school would not draw more than £14 in a year nor the poorest more than £5. Summer saw the young people busy on the land in one capacity or another, so that attendance was irregular.

Kilmorie now supported twelve schools : four parochial, two Assembly, and the rest provided for by the inhabitants by salary or fees. Parochial teachers had—Kilmorie £17, 10s., Shisken £15, Imachar £5, 16s., Loch Ranza £10, 10s., with dwelling-house, garden, and glebe, except in the case of Imachar. Fees were calculated by a method different from that in Kilbride ; 2s. a quarter for reading, reading and writing 2s. 6d., these plus arithmetic 3s., navigation and book-keeping luxuries at £1 per quarter. 'There are none between the age of six and fifteen but who either can, or are learning to read ; and the greater number of those of fifteen can also write.'¹ Mr. M'Kelvie of New Mill had the reputation of being the best teacher in the parish. 'Dominie Currie' and 'Dominie Grey' are others who have left a name in their profession.

The school buildings seem to have been the worst part of the equipment, being, it would appear, almost inferior to the ordinary dwellings. Even fairly late in this epoch the scholars would snuggle their feet in the dust of the clay floor to keep them warm.

Some further notes from individual recollections may here illustrate the narrative.

About the year 1800 there were only two girls in the whole district of Shisken who were taught writing. The buildings used as schoolrooms were so wretched that the scholars used to gather moss to fill up the holes in walls to keep the wind out.

About 1820 Pate Raghill (or Peter Bannatyne) kept a school at Blackwaterfoot. The schoolroom was never

¹ *New Statistical Account.*

cleaned out. In the summer the scholars cooled their feet by covering them up to the ankles in the accumulated dust of years. The fees were very small, the schoolmaster being usually boarded among the principal crofters.

The Presbytery of Kintyre before the Disruption gave a small grant to some of those who acted as dominies. Until about that period there was no settled schoolmaster in Shisken.

Dominie Currie, a well-educated person, was about that time settled in Birchburn, and made some very good scholars.

After the Disruption, the Free Church placed the well-known Dominie Craig at Balmichael. His kindness and humour made him a great favourite.

The big cave on Kilpatrick shore was often, till the Disruption, used as a schoolroom, being warm and roomy.

About the year 1845 a sad accident happened to a temporary schoolhouse. A Mr. Charles M'Gregor kept a school one spring in an old potato bothy in Feorline. One morning a thaw set in after a keen frost, and the wall suddenly collapsed. The scholars made a mad rush for the door, but five little girls were crushed and burned to death. What made the matter worse, the larger scholars observed symptoms of the walls giving way and wished to get out, but M'Gregor would not allow it, and he ran a narrow risk of being lynched.

A strange story has always been told in connection with this accident. A young girl, Mysie Bannatyne, was on her way home one night from Blackwaterfoot. When crossing the bridge beside the schoolhouse she distinctly saw five coffins laid along the parapet. On entering her father's house she fainted and lay over a month through the fright she got. A few days after, the accident happened, and the five little bodies were laid on the bridge.

In Arran, as in other western isles, St. Bride's Day

(*Feille Brìde*) was the great occasion of the school year. Properly it was Feb. 1 (old style), the first day of spring, but it was frequently confounded with Candlemas, Feb. 2, as in Arran. On that day scholars brought a small present of money to the teacher; the boy and girl who brought the largest gifts were crowned king and queen with paper crowns, and the next highest pair figured as prince and princess with badges on the shoulder. The dominie then brewed some toddy and served it round, after which the children, led by the king and queen, marched off for a holiday. Some such ceremonial, usually associated with cock-fighting, was a feature of all Highland schools, though many places fixed on Shrove-Tuesday, the beginning of Lent. It is essentially an old pagan festival, going back to the pre-Christian Brigid.

Thus a visitor of 1836 found the Arran folk 'in general, well instructed,' and possessing small libraries of books which they lent to each other. In 'the cottage of an old sailor' he found these volumes—Calvin's *Institutes*, Henry's *Bible*, *Sermons by the Commentators*, Boston's *Fourfold State*, and others, and the main literary interests theological.¹ But the books which the 'Megantic' emigrants, of whom we shall speak later, took with them show a wider range of interests, including Josephus' *History of the Jews*, Rollin's *Ancient History*, and Peter Grant's *Gaelic Poems*, as well as religious works by Baxter, Bunyan, Dyer, and Boston. So the Arran schools, though primitive, at least produced reading people; and what better can one say of any schools?

An integral part of the Session's duty was the disbursement of charity, and this extends not only to the local poor, but to the 'passengers' or tramps who may be on their way to Kintyre or, more frequently, Ireland; any one, in fact, who can make out a real claim to assistance on any ground gets satisfaction. Of peculiar interest are two cases in Kilbride of the same year:

¹ Lord Teignmouth's *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 397.

Januarie 6, 1707.—Sedr: Mr. Dan M'Lean: Modr: Jo: Hamilton; Jam: Hamilton Jan: M'Nickell, Elders.

After prayer.

The Sess: considered the Indigent condition of James Crawford a poor passenger who was Robed by the privateirs and was prisonir for a considerable space in france have allowed him 4 sh. Scots.

Sep. 28, 1707.—Ordered to be payd to Robert Hamilton in Cordun 4 shillings Sterling which he gave on the Sessions account to George Hamilton, a poor Gentleman Robed by the privateirs in his voyage to Virginia with his familie in Apryle Last.

In 1719 the minister of Kilmorie reports that there had been collected in the parish 'for propagation of Christian knowledge in Highlands' the sum of £24, 4s. Scots, and at the same time £17 Scots 'for the distressed Protestants in Lithuania.' Even darker England has not been forgotten, for six years earlier we find that £2 Scots are ordered to be sent to the Presbytery 'for the supply of the Presbyterians in New Castle' (Oct. 4, 1713). The Highlands, a Baltic State and Newcastle as objects of Kilmorie generosity gives one matter for reflection.

Some of the Kilbride collections and disbursements will be of interest. The amounts are in pounds Scots, a twelfth of English or sterling money:

<i>Collections</i> from April 1724 to June 1725 with proclama-						
tion money given to the poor; also from June to						
the last of August 1725		.	.	.	.	£80 12 8
Collected at the Sacrament, Sep. 5		.	.	.	.	£55 0 0
,, 12th Sep. to 30 Jan. 1726		.	.	.	.	£25 0 0
						(Scots) £220 17 6
<i>Fines</i> from May 1725 to May 1726 (4 cases)		.	.			£5 0 0
						7 0 0
						1 16 0
						9 0 0
						(Scots) £22 16 0

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Collections every Sabbath there was preaching at Kil-
bryde from Feb. 26, 1726 (14 days) . . . £18 15 9 (Scots)

Disbursements (in Scots money)

July 1725 to Nov. 18 to the poor and pious uses . . .	£49 19 2
Given to Mrs. Turnbull out of the collection at the Sacra- ment for the ministers' dinner at the ordination of Mr. Stewart	24 0 0
Given to Ranald M'Alaster for catechising the parish when vacant	8 8 0
To the Session Clerk as wages for the year 1723 . . .	9 6 0
Given to poor strangers	2 14 0
Allowed to the boat that brought the ministers from Kintyre to the Sacrament	6 13 4
Wages allowed to Jno. M'Kenzie, schoolmaster, for teach- ing seven poor scholars one quarter	2 6 0
To Mr. Crawford, Mr. Brown and another stranger wait- ing a fair wind	2 2 0
To a poor passenger's five children	0 8 0
To Robert M'Millan in Kiscadal for providing a school- house	1 0 0
To poor M. to buy a coat for himself	0 16 0
Two men for digging away the myre from about the kirkyard	0 8 0
To a poor gentleman from Argyle	1 10 0
To a poor boy	0 8 0
„ a poor woman	0 12 0
„ a poor girl	0 9 0
Beadle's wages for year 1725	3 0 0
To Wm. Millar to buy a book	0 6 0

There are also payments from time to time to persons 'keeping horse' at the Sacrament, which suggests the mode of travelling to those functions from a distance. Once a woman is convicted of having been found drunk in Brodick beside the 'ale-tents' on the Monday.

These are only specimen entries from years in the twenties and thirties, each really being a category of such payments,

but they suffice to exhibit the Session as a sort of earthly Providence. But both in Kilmorie and Kilbride we have information as to the circulation of bad money, a fair amount of which found its way into the church collections. In 1722 a M'Master in Kilmorie is 'fined in a great sum of money for venting false money coined by one Grigor'; and the Kilbride treasurer in 1731 enters an 'exchange of eight shillings sterling bad : gott half value.'

In 1793 we are informed that there are only twelve on the Kilbride poor's roll, supported by quarterly collections.¹ There was in addition a sum of £40 drawing interest for relief in cases of scarcity, which depend we see upon the weather, or in other extraordinary emergencies, while the Duke's 'pensioners' had meal from the factor. Kilmorie had forty on its roll supplied from quite inadequate weekly collections supplemented by 'country charity,' for 'the people, according to their abilities, are very charitable and attentive to real indigence.'

In the spring of 1746 Kilbride Session were serving out badges to 'real objects of charity' entitling them to beg without obstruction or molestation. It is worth noting that nothing appears in the records of the years 1745-6 to suggest that aught unusual was convulsing the country. But the Session Records in general are curiously silent about the business, so that the Arran elders are no exception. Still, their cautious reticence is to be deplored.

While Prince Charles Edward and his Highlanders are making the political welkin ring, the Kilbride elders are pursuing their even tenor in suppressing 'imprecations' and like nuisances. In particular there had developed a loose practice in some quarters of persons themselves taking their cows to pasture early on the Sabbath morning, instead of employing the proper herds, so that this occupation became an excuse for neglecting church; while children were

¹ *Old Statistical Account.*

being allowed on the same day to 'steal pease and potatoes, gather nutts and catch wild fowl in their nests.' These are their concerns at a season when the blood was yet scarce dry on the field of Culloden.

At rare times we have notice of some physician or surgeon on the island ; otherwise its healthfulness is a common matter of remark, as witnessed by the age to which many of the natives lived. Of course the old folks had their simple vegetable remedies, and the medicine chest usually hung from the rafters in the shape of a bunch of dried herbs. In July 1713 John Davies is "chirurgion" in Arran, and, when summoned to appear before an Edinburgh Kirk Session, professes his inability to attend 'because of the distance and the many patients he had under his care, there being no other chyrurgeon or physician in the island but himself.' In view of what then constituted medical practice, the patients might perhaps have run small risk by his temporary absence.¹

¹ 'The practice of bleeding twice every year seems to have been intended as a preventative again(st) the pleurisy : but it is now performed with the utmost regularity at spring and fall. The Duke of Hamilton keeps a surgeon in pay, who at those seasons makes a tour of the island. On notice of his approach, the inhabitants of each farm assemble in the open air ; extend their arms ; and are bled into a hole made in the ground, the common receptacle of the vital fluid.'—Pennant's *Tour*, p. 175. The final story has been authoritatively repudiated as an absurdity.

CHAPTER IX

THE FIRST OF THE IMPROVERS

Islands deficient in arable land—Arran fishings in the eighteenth century—mode of cultivation—runrig—character of the people—Burrel's *Diary* or *Journal*—rents and restraints—local government—institution of the packet-boats—Burrel's calculations and judgments—game in the island—Burrel's results small apart from rental—condition of the island in the later years of the century—routine of its life—occupations and dwellings—the Arran roads.

I

ISLANDS have as a rule a smaller share of alluvial land, suitable for cultivation, in proportion to their size than continental areas. This is markedly the case in examples like Arran, where volcanic outbursts have helped so much in the making of the island, leaving it with high-lying moors and mountain ridges loftier than its mere size would warrant, so that slopes are steep and descend steeply down or near to the water edge. It follows, too, that a population depending on the soil will congregate at favourable spots on the shore margin,¹ passing inwards where open straths flank the channels of the larger streams; of which the most conspicuous example here is the vale of Shisken in the lower

¹ Arran—'inhabit onlie at the sea-coasts' (Dean Monro, 1594). 'The alluvial flats and raised beaches at the mouths of the principal streams afford the best soil, and the narrow terrace or raised beach round the island is in general carefully cultivated. The upper limit of enclosed and cultivated land is between 400 and 500 feet above the sea, but the greater portion is below 300. As the ground rises steeply from the sea almost everywhere, the arable land is necessarily but a narrow belt along the coast, and even there is not continuous, though apparently more land was formerly cultivated in the olden times' (*Mem. Geol. Survey*, vol. xxi. p. 150).

course of the Blackwater. Narrower glens, too, may carry an interior population, but not to any great distance from the coast. Elsewhere the tillage is coastal, and this part of Arran presents two fairly regular features. One is the low shelf or terrace, from ten to twenty feet above high-water mark and from a few yards to a quarter of a mile broad—in parts entirely absent—which goes round the island, being what the island, in its final stage of development, gained by the gradual retiral of the sea. Within this again, also variable and irregular, is a low ridge or moulding, which sinks inwards before it rises to moor or mountain. By far the greater part of the island is above the 500 feet level and more than half of that over 1000 feet, much of it bare rock on the mountain-sides, or windswept, shelterless moor. Thus the population has never been great in proportion to area, ranging from about 29 to the square mile in modern times to a highest reach of about 44 in the early years of last century.¹

Normally in the sustenance of an island people the sea comes in to supplement the land produce, but, as we shall note presently, only the herring of the neighbouring mainland lochs appear to have been utilised in earlier days by the Arran fishers, while the year-round white fishing was neglected.² Herring fishing, coming before and after harvest, made the least inroad upon agricultural routine. Substantially, for the greater part of their history, the people are dependent upon what can be got by tillage and pasture, and ‘The whole isle,’ in Martin’s opinion, ‘is designed by nature more for pasturage than cultivation.’

So much, too, we gather from the more precise details which we get as the eighteenth century approaches its last

¹ See Table of Population in Appendix.

² ‘The sea-coast abounds with fish of different kinds, such as herring, salmon, skate, etc.—but the inhabitants have not acquired the art of being very beneficial to themselves in fishing any of these but herring.’—*Old Statistical Account* (Kilmory).

quarter. Martin about 1695 does mention a considerable fishing of cod and whiting in the Bay of Lamlash, but it cannot have amounted to much. In 1772 it is not worth mentioning. We are told, however, that the herring fishing then brings in £300 yearly, and the sale of herring-nets £100. These nets were made by the men during the winter, from the linen thread spun by the women. Much flax was sown, and the sale of thread produced another £100. In 1793 the herring-boats are computed to bring to the island not less than £1000 a year.¹ But the great export was of cattle, which at forty or fifty shillings the head brought in £1200 per annum, horses adding another £300. Butter, too, was made for exportation; of its value in returns there is no information. Of imported stuff oatmeal seems to be the pre-eminent article—five hundred bolls annually; and much money went out for mere necessities, which, the writer remarks, ‘is a melancholy drawback.’ Such sales furnished the money for the rent; for personal purposes everything was found at home.

Other matter in this connection had best come later, after some knowledge of the changes set a-going a half-dozen years before this date. Meantime it is needful to present an outline of the general economic framework of the main industry—agriculture.

The farms of the island have considerably increased in number since the fifteenth century: no doubt a good deal more land has been brought under cultivation. The mode of occupation is different. Gone are the kindly tenants or rentallers; in their place we have tenants on a nineteen years’ tack or lease. Each farm is possessed by a group of tenants, by four, eight, a dozen or more, labouring the ground in combination, and being jointly and severally responsible for the rent; that is, in case of any failing to pay

¹ *Statistical Account*. At this date (1793) the annual sales beyond the island were—for Kilbride, 200 bolls barley, 500 black cattle, and 80 sheep.

the others have to make good his share.¹ Each farm is worked in three great divisions, infield or croft-land, outfield, and the common pasture. 'Field' means the whole of the undivided land under crop or in lea, not any part of either. The infield gets all the manure² and is constantly under crop; the outfield is cropped so long as it produces a surplus over the amount sown, and is thereafter left to recover under a disorderly growth of grass and weeds for a few years, when it is again broken up and sown. Cows, horses, sheep, and goats are crowded on to the hill pasture, while the milk cows are given the luxury of the outfield when fallow, so that the manure may also contribute to its recovery in fertility. When the land is clear of crop all of it is equally open to all cattle. The arable land is annually divided in strips among the tenants by lot; each gets a rig or ridge, which is the unit of cultivation; hence the name for this system, *run-rig*, where the first part of the word is Gaelic, *roinn*, 'a share.' Each rig is marked for its particular tenant. In this way every one has his chance of the better portions of the holding.³

The tenants join in ploughing; the plough is a heavy, clumsy contrivance, being entirely of wood, save the iron on the coulter, and four to six horses are required to draw it, so that very few tenants could have a plough for themselves. But all have at least one horse, and even one was a heavy tax on the amount of corn that could be raised. Harness was of twisted straw or withies.

The houses of the tenants and the farm buildings are grouped together in a 'toun,' such as Robert Bruce found his way to in the spring of 1306. The fields are quite open; there are no fences or other enclosures of a permanent character; no proper drains: turnips⁴ and sown grasses

¹ Cf. p. 177.

² 'The usual manure is sea-plants, coral and shells' (Pennant).

³ See note on p. 172.

⁴ 'I observed one field of turnips.'—Headrick (1807), p. 341.

are only beginning, in the second half of the century, to edge their way into Scottish agriculture. For these conditions were common to the whole country. Rents were absurdly small, but then the total produce also was absurdly small.

Much scorn has been poured upon this mode of working the land, and it is easy to enumerate its defects, which after all do not so much pertain to the co-operative agriculture as to the general backwardness of the industry. It was a mode that suited tenants with little capital. The serious handicap is exposed in another direction, and better accounts for the stagnation of effort. 'The succeeding tenants,' observes the traveller, 'generally find the ground little better than a *caput mortuum* ('a state of death'); and for this reason, should they at the expiration of the lease leave the lands in a good state, some avaricious neighbours would have the preference in the next setting, by offering a price more than the person who had expended part of his substance in enriching the farm could possibly do. This induces them to leave it in the original state.'¹ The kindly tenancies of the fifteenth century implied no such handicap; competitive tenancies brought a limited tenure and no compensation for improvements. The results we see.

Whatever might be said in condemnation of the character of the farms and the inadequacy of their product, the character of the people afforded no evidence of degeneracy. That the stock was a healthy one is recorded from independent quarters. 'They enjoy a good state of health,'

¹ Pennant's *Tour*, p. 176. Cf. what Ramsay of Ochertyre, an improving Perthshire landlord, says of his own district under similar conditions: 'Though by no means deficient in industry which would make a speedy return, they (the tenants) laid their account that any extraordinary exertion or outlay on their part would, in the long run, redound as much to their master's profit as their own, and they had no mind to work for him. They therefore had a system of their own, founded on long experience, and suited to small capitals and tacks for nineteen years. From this they were unwilling to deviate, unless for some self-evident advantage; and with all its defects it is not easy to figure one by which the same quantity of grain could be raised for the same money.'—*Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. ii. p. 204.

writes Martin for 1695, 'and have a genius for all callings or employments, though they have but few mechanics. They wear the same habit with those of the nearest isles, and are very civil. They all speak the Irish language,' he goes on, 'yet the English tongue prevails on the east side, and ordinarily the ministers preach in it, and in Irish on the west side.'¹ The witness of Pennant in 1772 is in agreement: 'The men are strong, tall, and well made; all speak the Erse language but'—and here we regretfully record a falling away—'the antient habit is entirely laid aside . . . the inhabitants in general are sober, religious, and industrious.'²

The way is now clear for the introduction of a document of such direct and intimate bearing upon the life of the people of Arran as to warrant a section to itself—the *Journal* of John Burrel, the first of the 'improvers' in the island. The theme of the volumes is Arran as an improvable property, and accordingly they contain a mass of details regarding the nature and extent of every separate farm, the estate management, and other business matters, with repeated schemes and speculations of development. It is possible here to give only some general outline of their contents in their bearing upon the fortunes of the island and its people during the years 1766-80.³

II

In 1766 the seventh Duke of Hamilton was a minor,⁴ and his tutors or trustees, considering that the leases of farms in Arran were now beginning to expire—the greater

¹ Martin, pp. 224-5. Cf. Burrel on p. 189.

² *Tour*, pp. 175-6, 178.

³ Burrel's *Diary* or *Journal* covers a series of visits to Arran at different times and for varied periods in the course of the years 1766, 1768, 1769, 1770 (twice), 1772-73, 1776, 1779. It is contained in two large folio volumes, vol. i. pp. 352, vol. ii. pp. 92, the rest unpagged, and the small portion 1781-82 by others. It is Burrel's material which is here drawn upon.

⁴ Died July 7, 1760, aged fifteen (James George); succeeded by his brother Douglas, two years younger.

number by 1772—commissioned Mr. John Burrel, factor at Kenneil, and Mr. Boyd Anderson, to undertake the improvement of the island and re-set the tacks with this in view. In this business Burrel entirely overshadows his colleague. He was a masterful and laborious man, who undertook his commission in the spirit of a crusader; of that methodical and systematic type of mind to which loose, inefficient, and easy-going methods are abhorrent; filled with an earnest desire to do good to all concerned according to his lights, but somewhat precipitate and impatient in his activities, and having little regard to the deadweight of traditional habits and the difficulty of change among a slow-moving people. He was to learn as he went on.

He had formulated certain principles of action before setting to work. He was dead against the practice of common pasture; he would have no farms in severalty, but every man's land enclosed for himself and him alone responsible for the rent. By the time the last tacks in the island expired, he designed 'there shall not be one single inch of communtie in the whole island.' In this he did not succeed, heroic though his efforts were.

Burrel came from Kinneil in Linlithgowshire, where he could make himself familiar with the new developments in Scottish agriculture that were to transform the whole industry. In the eastern Lowlands planting of woods and hedges had become quite a fashion, and his efforts in Arran in this line show how much he appreciated this healthful practice. Improved modes of tillage, drawn alike from practice and book knowledge, were turning poor lands into a rich source of income. Increase of rent was the sign of increased productivity, and therefore a stimulus to improvement.

He was not the sort of man to go about anything in a haphazard way. He had his tests and standards, though he modified them from time to time. To the first farms in

hand he at once set about applying these. Aided by 'John M'Braiden, the gardener, with his spade,' he made a careful inspection of samples of the different soils on each farm, considered its position and general character, inspected the moor pasture, and on these terms fixed a price per acre. As a check upon this 'arbitrary value' he applied another test in taking the amount of stock and estimating the value of the grazing of each animal at so much; then added a figure for each boll of grain raised. This generally brought out a total approximately the same as that given by the first calculation. Somewhere about these amounts, then, was the proper rent.¹

In April 1770 he is in the midst of complicated negotiations about old and new leases, and this is what happens :

'We have also given close attendance this whole day at the Castle, and for all the threatening diligence against the tenants, none of them appeared, except the tenants of Clawchag, who did not appear to us till near 8 o'clock at night, and that being past the hours we tyed ourselves down to (viz. from sun rising to sun setting) we remitted them to the Claddoch, where they have been all the afternoon diverting themselves.' There wasn't much gaiety in the strenuous soul of Burrel.

He had to modify his ideas a good deal as operations went on. At first the Duke was to do all the enclosing; finally it is left as an option to the tenants. But the main work accomplished in this line seems to have been the formation of head dykes; and such enclosing as was done was partly in the form of dry stone walls and partly of sod mounds planted with thorn. 'At first the tenants were against enclosing, but they no sooner saw the good of the inclosures already made than they in general insisted on having their head dykes made good, and that their farms should at least

¹ Cf. again on p. 188, note 2.

be inclosed round, so as one man may not be hurt by the encroachments of another farm's cattle.'

The proposed regulations as to the improvement of the actual husbandry would appear also to have been only in part put in practice. To cope with the terrible growth of weeds, especially *gule* or corn-marigold ('that weed being their inveterate enemy'¹), arrangements were to be made for supplying lime, by use of which too they might succeed in securing plenty of good clover and rye-grass hay instead of the coarse scanty natural pasture of old. Then all land within the head dyke was to be divided into three parts, not more than one of which was to be ploughed and sown, the rest to lie under grass; and not more than two crops to be taken in succession. This, of course, was an effort to break away from the old wasteful system of a continually cropped infield or croft, and a spasmodically cropped outfield. The eager improver is also fully sensible of the desirability of raising the quality of the crops, and applies for good seed barley, oats, and pease: 'If good grass were raised and good cattle reared, there can be no better security for rent, especially in a locked island.' But there emerges no hope of subdividing the pastures; it is trouble enough to soum them properly, restricting each tenant to a reasonable proportion of cattle.

One experience leads the diarist to the enunciation of an unhappy prejudice. The lady who leased the Mill Hill mill was £18 in arrears, and invited him to seize her estate for the debt. He found on inquiry that all her goods and gear would not at best bring in more than £6, and that 'this break is entirely owing to extravagancy and bad management.' Therefore he comes to the resolution 'never again to grant a lease of mills or land to womankind,' and makes the best of a bad debt.

¹ It was of all agricultural Scotland, as can be inferred even from Acts of the old Scottish Parliament.

In the by-going of 1770 we have this illuminative item : 'The Barron Courts was designed at this time (May 10) to be suspended till the term of Michaelmas nixt, but finding so many people intending for America,¹ to leave the island at this time without a judge would be leaving it in the power of those emegrants to rob both his grace and their neighbours.' This was no empty fear, as we have a case late in 1776 when one of the tenants of Tormore, a M'Millan, is reported to have 'emigrate,' leaving nothing but some growing corn to discharge his debt. The remaining tenants petition that they be not held liable for M'Millan's contribution, as under the common lease they were, and the Commissioner agrees that 'it would be hard to burden the remaining tenants with the debt due by a ranagadoe emigrant,' and accordingly absolves them. Such accidents were part of the dangers of a joint tenancy ; and we have another case in the same year, when four of the tenants in Corriecraivie become bankrupt, and, though the full rent might legally be exacted from the others, an allowance is made them on the understanding that this is not to be held as a precedent.

The fraudulent conduct of one M'Bride will serve as a picture of the methods of justice, though the incident in question is no doubt quite exceptional. M'Bride was tenant in Corriegills and had bought cattle from a great many tenants to the value of £100 sterling, they innocently taking his word as to payment. He brought the cattle over to the mainland and sold them, but on his return 'hade shifted them from time to time and at last hade told the greatest part of them that they never need to expect a farthing from him.' A 'heavy complaint' is therefore made to the Commissioner. 'As some of them hade obtained Justice of

¹ Emigration to America, beginning about this time, became serious enough to attract attention from the Government. A year or two after this 'there were appearances of great emigration from Argyleshire, particularly from Islay and some inland parts, and Arran, and emissaries were going about to engage people' (*Home Office Papers*, 1773-5, p. 206).

peace warrants for incarcerating him in the Tolbooth of Rothesay, as one who was meditating his escape from his creditors, we therefore on that warrant ordered our officers to apprehend and bring him before us, in order to learn from him if possible what had become of the money, but when he came we could make nothing of him. We therefore ordered him to be secured in the castle prison, till such time as the constables could find a vessal fitt to carry him to Rothesay, which they very soon did' (Oct. 23, 1770).

This termination may introduce the subject of communication with the mainland, a subject to which Burrel speedily gave serious and fruitful consideration.¹ In 1766 he had crossed by freighting a boat at Saltcoats, and leaving at 10 A.M. arrived at the Castle by noon. In 1768 he takes a wherry from Ayr, and in September 1769 crosses through a storm in Captain Crawford's wherry. Saltcoats is again the point of departure in March 1770, where he found Hans Bannatyne's small wherry. Captain Campbell had caused his wherry (the revenue cutter) to call for him the afternoon before, but could not wait as he was in chase of some smugglers. Such inconveniences pressed home the desirability for a regular means of transport, and, as in all matters where the general weal of the island was concerned, a meeting of representative men was summoned by proclamation in the churches. The occasion of such a gathering was also taken advantage of to deal with other points of local administration. The case in hand is a typical example of such procedure. All public intimations were made from the different pulpits.

¹ There was some sort of regular communication earlier than this date, as we see from an advertisement in the *Glasgow Journal* of March 12, 1759: 'There is a packet boat settled to pass every week from Arran to Saltcoats for the conveniency of travellers; the day she comes from Saltcoats is Thursday. The freight is fixed to prevent impositions.' Probably it did not pay, as was the fate of the ferry-boat established in 1684 from Arran to Dungoe in Bute (Reid's *History of Bute*, p. 98).

ADVERTISEMENT TO BE READ IN THE CHURCHES ON
SUNDAY, 25TH MARCH, 1770

This is to give notice to the tenants and heritors in the island of Arran that there is to be a meeting held at the house of Andrew Stewart, at the Cladoch, upon Thursday next, the 29th current, at 12 o'clock, in order to take under consideration the establishment of a packet boat for the service of this island—to concert the proper steps to be taken for making roads and erecting bridges here—and as the tenants in the island have suffered greatly by the island not being summed, there will also be taken under consideration the propriety of summing and rouming¹ of the island, and as the tenants seem to be imposed on by multerers,² some means to prevent this imposition to be considered of. As good seed corn for changing the grain every three years is much wanted, to consider of proper steps to be taken for procuring such a necessary article: and as there seems to have been a fraudulent practice prevailing on this island of butchering cattle and sheep without knowing to whom they belong, some serious consideration on this subject will be necessary in order to form a plan for preventing such frauds being committed in times to come. It is, therefore, desired that the tenants of the following districts, viz., from Lamblash to Kildonan, from Kildonan to the Blackwaterfoot, from the Blackwaterfoot to Iorza Water, from Iorza Water to Lochranzay, from Lochranzay to Corrie, from Corrie to Lamblash, to meet by themselves on Tuesday next, the 27th curt., and to chose

¹ *Summing* or *souming* is fixing the number of cattle, sheep, etc., in proportion to the amount of summer pasture; *rouming* is to fix the number for which winter fodder can be provided.

² That is the amount paid for the grinding of corn at the estate mills let out to tenants. There were seven mills:

' Brodick	serving	70 families.
Kilbride	„	110 „
Ashdale	„	53 „
Drumlabarron	„	45 „
Shedock	„	133 „
Lochranzay	„	95 „
Torrylin	„	194 „
		<u>700</u>

The charge was 15s. per boll of meal. About 260 bolls (257·86) produced £194, 7s. 10d.

out from amongst themselves two of the most intelligent tenants who will, amongst with the heritors, the ministers, and catechist, meet at the said Andrew Stewart's house at the time before-mentioned, to consider of the above matters.

AT THE CLADOCH, 29TH MARCH, 1770

In consequence of the advertisement read in the Churches on Sunday last for a meeting here this day to consider of certain articles contained in that advertisement, there were present the following persons :—John Burrel, commissioner ; George Cooper, factor ; Mr. William M'Gregor, overseer on the part of the Duke of Hamilton ; Mr. Gershom Stewart, Mr. John Hamilton, ministers ; Mr. John Fullarton of M'Loy ; Mr. Lewis Fullarton, surgeon ; Mr. John Hamilton, officer of excise at Ayr ; Mr. William Ogg, excise officer in Arran ; and the following persons sent by the tenants :—Mr. Hector M'Alister in Monyquil, Mr. Alex. M'Gregor in Feorline, Duncan M'Bride in Kilbride, Peter Hamilton in Kilmory, John Pettigrew in Lag, Thomas Brown in Glenshant, John M'Cook in Bennecarrigan, and Adam Fullarton at the Cladoch.

On some of the points connected with the packet service there was difference of opinion. As between Ayr, Saltcoats, and Greenock, voted for in that order, Saltcoats was finally decided upon. At first a scale of charge was fixed, but later the Commissioner suggests as preferable that no islanders should pay freight, but all assess themselves for the upkeep of the boat, in proportion to their rent or to their souming and sowing. The Duke was to provide the packet, and, until one could be built, a vessel was hired and began a weekly trip to Saltcoats. By November 1770 we have notice of two packet-boats, one at Brodick with Hans Bannatyne as master, another at Imachar commanded by Duncan Sillar. Thereafter the traveller can arrange his journey to catch the packet, though, of course, accidents may happen. On July 29, 1776, Burrel arrived at Saltcoats to find the packet had been there the previous afternoon, but was gone. He went on to Ayr, where he found the packet

on call at that port, but there was no wind, and he could not leave Ayr till two o'clock on the morning of August 1, reaching Brodick eight hours later. Evidently there was a grudge somewhere against the packet, or its ducal representative, for in January 1773, when the Commissioner was preparing to leave, it was found that the rudder had been broken and two feet of planking cut out of the starboard side. By 1776 a new boat is engaged in the trade, having been specially built mainly from fir and oak cut in the Castle woods, and costing, all told, £94, 3s. 3d. Apparently the crew consists of Hans Bannatyne, William Henry, and Andrew Wilson. But, long before the record of the settlement of the account for construction, Bannatyne had paid toll to the sea. In May 1776, while crossing with some cattle 'to the low country,' Hans Bannatyne, his eldest son, and a lad Fullarton are all drowned, and Bannatyne's four small children, and Fullarton's mother, are left to the charity of the estate.

At the close of October 1770 there falls on the island a sudden scare of plague, and Mr. Burrel, as ever, meets the emergency with no half measures. An Order of Council and Act of Parliament arrive directing precautions to be taken against the introduction of the disease from shipping, the infected countries being Prussia and Pomerania. In the usual way a meeting is summoned at Lamash of twenty of the most substantial tenants, to consider what is to be done in the way of preventing any communication from the island with ships passing up the Firth of Clyde. The difficulty is that there are about two or three hundred young fellows, sons of tenants and cottars, 'who have no visible way of making bread but by smuggling,' and that there are near 300 boats belonging to the island; so that there is very grave risk of 'importing that inveterate calamity, it being next to impossible to restrain the young fellows from going on board every ship that comes on their coast.' The

decision arrived at is that overseers are to be appointed for certain divisions of the shore line, who will see to it 'that every square-sail herring-boat of 16 feet keel and upwards shall be drawn up and laid on its face at a specified spot, and oars and tackling safely deposited, while all the smaller boats are to be brought to "the Strawband" (Strabane) and similarly disposed of there, until all danger of infection has passed.' The necessary transport of cattle is allowed under stringent regulations, which absolutely prohibit any boarding of vessels on the way. The masters of the packet-boats must find bail to observe a similar restraint; while the overseers have also to see to it that there is no landing or lodging of suspected strangers in the island.

On the very eve of the meeting a brig from the Low Country, 'most probably from Danzig,' put in overnight to Lamlash Bay. At once the factor, Mr. Cooper, as Justice of the Peace, sends a peremptory message to the master to remove to quarantine at Greenock, on penalty of being judged guilty of felony and so 'of death as a felon without benefit of clergy,' according to a clause in the Act of Parliament; failing which boats will be sent to cut his cables and send him adrift. The master of the brig returns a verbal message desiring them to give themselves no further uneasiness, as he had just received from his owners an order to proceed to Irvine and was about to do so. A communication to Baron Muir, one of the tutors, brings a reply nearly as unsympathetic, for he protests they in Arran seem to be more alarmed about the plague than those on the mainland, and that they should do all in their power 'to prevent smugglers from going aboard vessels, which seems to him to be the only risk they run.' But in all things Burrel's motto was 'thorough.'

All projects of Highland improvement, now and later, included the formation of villages as seats of trade and handicraft, and the Commissioner cherishes a like scheme



FISHERMEN'S HUTS.

[From Ferguson's 'Four Views in Arran,' 1842.]

for Arran. He contemplates such centres at Lamlash, Loch Ranza, Torlin, and Shedag, but only at the two former, where there was already a nucleus, does anything of the kind take shape. At Lamlash, on the east and south of the change-house or inn at Bay-head, were eleven houses forming a hamlet known as Clamperton, and ten on the west side were called 'the Bay of Lamblash,' as the name is always written in the present Record. The local schoolmaster in 1770 supplied the information that 'the five houses lying to the south of the Whitehouse were built by Duchess Ann, with the design to draw the people from that nasty hole called Clamperton and the Bay to this dry and wholesome situation, in order to form a village under the name of Arrantoun.' Burrel continues the plan of clearing the older settlements and providing a new street, doing the best possible to meet some cases of hardship. At Lamlash, too, there is the charity of the 'poor's asylum,' where a house and kailyard are provided for such pensioners. Further, there is elaborate provision for the formation, here and in other quarters, of lots for mechanics and fishermen, and we have note of half a dozen Montrose men, aged from fourteen to twenty-five, who are settled at Lamlash and offer to deliver, at Lamlash or Saltcoats, cod, ling, haddock, whiting, flounder, sole, and thornback not exceeding four cwt. for 15d. per stone of 24 lbs. Dutch, to be paid them on delivery (Nov. 1776). There is evidence throughout that the fishings, except that of herring, were not developed, even that instruction in the art was necessary; no doubt the speculative distractions of smuggling were a good deal to blame.

Other zealous undertakings are the resumption of work in the coal-seams at the Cock and the opening of various limestone quarries,¹ and the Commissioner, in default of any

¹ 'There are extensive old limestone quarries at Corrie—they extend up the steep hillside for a quarter of a mile, and the limestone has been much wrought in artificial caves, besides having been worked at the outcrop towards the dip till in places there

proper geological knowledge, which indeed was not then possible, even climbs Aird Bheinn on an afternoon to hunt for coal and find stray blocks of limestone. He acts on a story of coal at Drumadoon and finds only freestone.¹ Good slate is uncovered in the Loch Ranza district. Between 1773 and 1776 some two to three hundred thousand are sold at prices from £1 per thousand: some of these greyish slates may still be seen on houses in Loch Ranza and Newton. The various woods still surviving in a despondent fashion also receive timely attention, and are among the first things to be enclosed. There were still woods of a sort at 'Corrie,

were nearly 30 feet of cover. Much lime was formerly exported, but very little is now worked in the island, and on the Shiskine side lime is imported from Ireland.'—*Memoirs of Geol. Survey*, vol. xxi. p. 148.

¹ 'He told me that he heard his mother say that her father told her that coals were found here and in such plenty that the smith made all his iron work with them; but when I went and examined the plans I found nothing but red freestone rock and other stratas which are the most Barron Simtymes (barren symptoms) of coal' (Sept. 26, 1776). The Coal-Measures in Arran are confined to the north part of the island on the east side between Fallen Rocks and Cock, a strip a quarter of a mile broad of Calciferous Sandstones, Carboniferous Limestone, etc., with seams of 'blind' coal below Laggan. The coal was difficult to work, and had been principally used for the manufacture of salt from sea-water. The 'salt-pans' were near by. The 'Cock lime quarry lies east from Salt pans' (Burrel, Sept. 6, 1782). Work at this coal dates from an early period, and seems to have ceased some time before Burrel made a fresh start. In 1729 the Duke of Hamilton represents that he has been at great expense in improving his salt and coal works in the Isle of Arran (*Calendar of Treasury Papers*, cxiii. No. 704). There are three seams of coal, the largest of three or four feet in thickness. Burrel also sank a boring for 114 feet 5 inches on the Clachland shore, where he never would find coal.

'There are extensive old quarries in the white Carboniferous freestone of Corrie which was much wrought a century or more ago. It was used in the construction of the Crinan Canal, and is said to have been shipped to the Isle of Man for building purposes. At present the red freestone of the Triassic rocks is the principal building stone in Arran, and there are large quarries in it at Brodick and Corrie. The stone is soft and easily worked, and is said to harden by exposure to the air. Large blocks of it can be obtained, and from Corrie the stone is largely exported to various parts of the Clyde district, and some going much farther away—a mansion in Rum being built of it. Troon harbour is said to have been built out of the material from the northern quarry. In the neighbourhood of Lochranza a tough, gritty schist is used for building purposes. At Millport the white freestone of the islands in the bay is quarried for like purposes, and the Upper Old Red Sandstone is largely worked south of Figgatoch.'—*Memoirs of Geol. Survey*, vol. xxi. p. 148.

Sannox bank, Collimore, Penrioch, Algoloch, Barrican and Dougary banks, Kilpatrick, Glenkisdalle, Knockenkly, Kingscross, Cordon, Monimore, Glenkill and Palister, Lamlash Isle, Altaharvie, Strathwhillan bank, Glencloy burn and the Castle,'¹ but many of these were in a very poor state. Of the woods at Penrioch and Altgobhlach the tenant reported that the whole island had cut them 'for their own use,' and till such time as they were all debarred 'he thought it needless for him debarring himself.' On which Mr. Burrel comments: 'This made me almost angry.' At this time (May 1776) the Castle Park 'is the only enclosure in Arran,' and yet with much more ground vacant than under wood. Thereafter a good deal of planting is done from time to time with a calculated view to future profit.

It is sad to find the blind spot of the business eye reveal itself in this wise: 'There is no part of cultivation and improvement the Memorialist would grudge to give money out for more than the building of Kirks.' Nevertheless, needs must that such a profitless outlay be made. At the very moment the Memorialist was penning this outburst

¹ *Wood*.—'There is much natural wood in Arran, mostly of birch, alder, hazel, rowan, and willow, with some scrubby oak. Belts of these trees are found along the sea-coast from Dougrie to Lochranza on the west coast, and on the east coast between Sannox and Brodick. There is a good deal of natural wood also in the lower parts of some of the glens, especially in Lag a Bheidh and in Glen Cloy, also in the Shiskine district near the Machrie Water, and in the lower part of Glen Rosie. In Glen Dubh (Glen Cloy) the wood grows up to about 800 feet above the sea, and to nearly the same height in Coire Fhraoich (Glen Rosie) and on the higher ground west of Corrie. Along several of the smaller streams trees flourish up to nearly 1000 feet, especially if the streams run in ravines, but the only locality where there is a small forest at this height is at Doire na Ceardaich, to the east of the summit of the Corrie and Lochranza road. One or two stunted specimens of the rowan tree were observed on the north side of Glen Sannox at a height of about 1500 feet near Suidhe Fhearghas.

'There are many artificial fir plantations in Bute and a few in Great Cumbrae. In Arran the largest are around Brodick Bay; and up the Merkland Burn and in Glen Shurig these trees flourish up to nearly 700 feet above the sea. There are plantations also at Whitefarland, Sannox, South Corrygills, etc. Suidhe plantation in Bute rises to above 500 feet. Glen Iorsa in Arran is almost treeless, and the granite district generally is comparatively bare of wood.'—*Memoirs of Geol. Survey*, vol. xxi. pp. 150-51.

(1772), materials were already lying in position for the construction of a new church at Lamlash. Four years later the inhabitants of the 'numerous parish' of Kilmore also are petitioning for a new church, for the reason that their old one was too small by half and past repair. It being conjectured that it will cost less to build a new one than to adapt the old, and the tenants having been bound to do all the carrying of materials, the prayer of the petition at first wins favour. However, estimates are taken for both reconstruction and a new building, and it turns out that the new building is the more expensive. This must have been decisive for the time, as the new church was not built till 1785.¹ The estimate had provided for the seating of 550 persons; the repaired church with galleries is to hold 750. The manse too is under extensive repair. By 1776 the outlay on the church of Kilbride amounts to £376, 18s. 4d., including a bell and belfrey at £5 each, and 'a decent pulpit and precentor's seat and desk,' £10. The church was to hold 530 people.

Both road and 'rogue' money were county rates, and, 'as good roads and bridges are the first step to improvement in all cultivated countries,' the tutors proposed to get the share of both rates paid by Arran expended on the island for the future 'in making and repairing the roads and erecting bridges.' Apparently there were no 'rogues' needing attention. The statutory share of the tenants, cottars, etc., in such public works was to do six days' labour a year, or, failing that, pay eighteenpence a day. At the meeting described above, this duty, which everywhere was normally neglected, was brought under consideration, and the resolution was in favour of doing the work rather than paying the money; the inhabitants of each of the six districts to see to their own roads. This mode of dealing with a great public necessity had long proved itself inefficient; roads

¹ *New Statistical Account.*

in general were extremely bad, and it is no exception that in Arran they were ‘unspeakable.’

After provision for these changes the following public burdens remained for discharge by the estate :

	1776				1773		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Minister's Stipend of Kilbride .	50	0	0		70	0	0
do. do. Kilmorie .	50	0	0		70	0	0
Catechist's Salary at Lochranza .	27	15	6		27	15	6 ¹
Communion Elements .	5	0	0		5	0	0
Nine Schoolmasters' Salaries .	10	0	0	Kilbride	4	2	2
				Kilmorie	11	2	2
				Lochranza	5	11	7
	142 15 6				200 11 17		

The surgeon of the island (Dr. Lewis Fullarton) had a salary at the rate of 2d. per £ gross rental; ‘each tenant pays for bleeding and other allowance when sick or sore.’ In 1776 the tenants bind themselves to provide the salaries of the schoolmasters.

It is time now to offer some general picture of the island as it presented itself to and impressed the mind of this frank energetic man. Such occurs at length in a Memorial drawn up in 1772, of which the relevant paragraphs are as follow:—

‘Including the 8 miles the island stands divided into 99 farms, which maintains no less than 1110 families, which

¹ This is a fixed item, being the revenue of a settlement made by the Duchess Ann about 1700 for that purpose. ‘The farm of Coilemore, on which the incumbent resided, was at a later period attached to it at a nominal rental, but during a recent lengthened vacancy it was let to another tenant, and has not since been restored, nor any equivalent given in its room. . . . Unfortunately, the deed of mortification expressly prohibits the ordination of the assistant, and, being engrossed in that of entail, cannot be altered. This want of ordination is felt to be a very great grievance by the inhabitants, who must travel a distance, many of them twenty-four miles, before they can obtain sealing ordinances. The Lord's Supper has been twice dispensed in the district,—first in 1814, during the incumbency of the Rev. Neil M'Bride and in 1839 by the Rev. A. MacMillan.’—*New Statistical Account*, 1840.

at the average of 5 to a family makes 5550 mouths that must be maintained; and if to these be added, for necessary mechanics of all kinds, tinkers, labourers, etc., 300 families, the whole island must contain 7050 souls.¹

‘There are 10,067 acres arable ground and meadow that has been ploughed and cultivated lying within the said belt, and there is 15,770 acres of pasture ground, mostly capable of cultivation.’²

‘Many a serious thought and contemplation the Memorialist have bestowed upon the cultivation and improvement of this island, which had the effect to produce many a different idea; what of these he can remember he shall state in order to be approved of or corrected, etc.’

‘From 18 years acquaintance with the island he begs leave to observe that the island is oppressed with too many people, as well as too many cattle; as to the former he had

¹ Mr. Pennant’s figures for cattle, etc., in the same year run thus:

Milk Cows	.	.	.	3183
Cattle, 1 to 3 years old	.	.	.	2000
Horses	.	.	.	1058
Sheep	.	.	.	1500
Goats	.	.	.	500

He adds: ‘Many of the two last are killed at Michaelmas and dried for winter provision, or sold at Greenock. The cattle are sold from forty to fifty shillings per head, which brings into the island about £1200 per annum. I think the sale of horses also brings in about £300. Hogs were introduced here only two years ago. The herring fishing round the island brings in £300, the sale of herring nets £100, and that of thread about £300, for a good deal of flax is sown here. There are the exports of the island; but the money that goes out for mere necessities is a melancholy drawback.’

‘The produce of the island is oats; of which about five thousand bolls, each equal to nine Winchester bushels, are sown: five hundred of beans, a few peas, and above a thousand bolls of potatoes are annually set; notwithstanding this, five hundred bolls of oatmeal are annually imported, to subsist the natives.’—Pennant’s *Tour*, edit. 1774, p. 177.

² Headrick thinks this much short of the actual area. Still, if other proprietors than the Duke hold about 300 acres, and the Duke’s gross rent works out to £5500, this leaves the arable at less than 10s. an acre and nothing for pasture. Headrick thinks that with improvements the rent could be raised to £15,000 or even £20,000 a year, with advantage to everybody.—*View of Arran*, p. 305.

some hopes of their emigration, which to his sorrow, is now like to vanish, and as to the latter he refers to his last journal if man could do more to reduce their numbers.

‘That the people are naturally healthy, lazy, and robust, yet from experience he finds that had he time to attend them, he would not be afraid in a short time to turn out 500 as good workmen as are in Scotland ; it ’s therefore a pity they were not both taught and employed within the island.¹

‘What promotes their laziness is their possession of about 49,173 acres in common, and it is his opinion, founded on facts, that the poor people called tenants, who actually pays the whole rent to his Grace, does not possess $\frac{1}{2}$ of the common pasture, the other half being eat up by the cattle belonging to the young fellows, who sorn upon the old people throughout the whole of their time, except the times they are either catching herrings or smuggling.’

A brief word on the big subject of game. At the close of the seventeenth century there were about four hundred deer in the island carefully preserved for sport, and any tenant killing one without licence was liable to a fine of £20 Scots. They were under charge of the forester, and when he thought them too numerous he granted licences for killing a certain number on the condition that he had the skins.² Blackcock, too, was forbidden sport. In 1778 it is observed that ‘the stags, which used to abound, are now reduced to a dozen.’³

Nevertheless, circumstances seem not to have favoured the thriving of deer. Within a quarter of a century it can be said that the red deer ‘are either wholly, or nearly, extirpated,’ lacking, it is suggested, proper covert from ‘the improvident destruction of the woods.’ A few might still

¹ ‘The inhabitants in general are sober, religious and industrious . . . excepting at new-year’s day, at marriages, or at the two or three fairs in the island, they have no leisure for any amusement : no wonder then at their depression of spirits.’—Pennant’s *Tour*, edit. 1774, p. 177. Cf. further extract from Aiton’s *Survey of Bute* on p. 211.

² Martin, p. 222.

³ Pennant, p. 175.

be found, so report ran, among the recesses of the mountains. Roes and wild boars were wholly extinct. The wild goats had shrunk to a handful. On the other hand, 'black-cock and grouse swarm in unbounded profusion.'¹ Pennant had noted the presence of the partridge in his day, 'a proof of the advancement of agriculture.' Headrick commits himself only to a few 'at the south end.' Apparently the birds of prey, eagles and hawks, had helped to account for the disappearance of game, but the premiums given by the estate for their destruction had nearly secured their extirpation.

Some details of expenditure drawn from *Burrel's Journal* may here be inserted. An account of the farms and tenants in 1766 and 1773 will be found in Appendix B, p. 357.

MISCELLANEOUS ACCOUNTS, 1773

I. Expense of boring for Coal

Accompt His Grace the Duke of Hamilton to Richard Hamilton, George Cowie, David Adamson and John Arbuckle for making a tryal of the Coal at the Cock of Arran and Boaring 19 Fathoms 5 inches on the Shore of Wester Clauchlands.

To Rents and Hamilton's Horse hyre from	£	s.	d.	
Boness to Saltcoats	0	10	0	
To Expencc of Tolls and 3 Nights keeping the horse	0	6	0	
To Richard Hamilton a week at Saltcoats @ 12s.	0	12	0	
George Cowie do. do. @ 9s.	0	9	0	
David Adamson do. do. @ do.	0	9	0	
John Arbuckle do. do. @ 12s.	0	12	0	
				£2 18 0
Expencc before the Colliers landed in Arran.				

¹ Headrick, pp. 325-6.

Expence of trying the Cock Coal.				£	s.	d.
To Richard Hamilton	3 weeks	@ 12s.	.	1	16	0
David Adamson	11 weeks	@ 9s.	.	4	19	0
George Cowie	11 do.	@ do.	.	4	19	0
John Arbuckle	3 do.	@ 12s.	.	1	16	0
				£13 10 0		

Sum to Colliers.

To Donald M'Killop	25 days	@ 1s. and				
	18½	@ 10d.	2	0	5	
Angus M'Killop, Sen ^r .	30 days	@ 1s.	1	10	0	
Angus M'Killop, Jun ^r .	14 do.	@ do.	0	14	0	
Ax. M'Kelvie	34 do.	@ do.	1	14	0	
Lauchlan Currie	12 do.	@ do.	0	12	0	
Ax. M'Kilvie	19 do.	@ 10d.	0	15	10	
Angus M'Killop	19 do.	@ do.	0	15	10	
John M'Killop	23½ do.	@ do.	0	19	7	
Ax. M'Killop	21½ do.	@ do.	0	17	11	
Angus M'Killop	8 do.	.	0	6	8	
Daniel Kerr	3 do.	.	0	2	6	
				£11 2 9		
To Ax. Kerr for Smith work	.	.	0	2	5½	
To Donald M'Allan for Sheering Timber	.	.	0	6	0	
To Jn. and T ^s Nicol each three days	.	.	0	6	0	
				£25 7 2½		

Expense of Boreing 19 Fathoms 5 Inches
on the West Clauchland Shore in Search of
Coal.

To Risschard Hamilton	11 weeks	@ 12s.	.	6	12	0
David Adamson	3 do.	@ 9s.	.	1	7	0
George Cowie	3 do.	@ do.	.	1	7	0
				£9 6 0		

To John Arbuckles Extra trouble going to Hamilton and returning with Boring roads (rods)	.	.	.	£1	0	0
To oil and candles furnished by Patrick M'Bride	.	.	.	0	18	0
To Ax. Hamilton for ropes	.	.	.	0	0	6

To Ax. Kerr for making and repairing some of the rods	£4 6 0	
To a greatification given Sundries of the Islanders for their trouble helping to bore	5 10 0	
To Jn. Hamilton for leading roads and timber to Lamdash	0 3 4	
To William Henry for do.	0 0 10	
To Harie Bannatyne for Leather	0 0 2	
To James Moris Smith in Saltcotes for making and repairing roads (rods)	5 8 10	
		£26 19 2
To allowance to Carrie us home	1 10 0	
		£56 14 4½

II. Wages, etc.

To William Henry for 9 days work at the Glen Slate Quarrie	0 9 0
To Daniel Robison for 1 day's work at N. Sannox Slate Trial	0 1 0
To Donald M'Allan and Luis Fullarton for making Couples for a Shade (shed) to the Glen quarrie	0 6 0
To Pat ^k M'Bride for 6 days horse hyre with Capt ⁿ Robertson	0 6 0
To 3 Horses Corn 10 days @ do.	0 15 0

III. Cost of Building

Estimate for building a new Church at Kilbride by James
Crauford mason in Kilwinnen, £219, 2s. 11d. (accepted).

Estimate for repairing Kilmorie Kirk :	
84 feet of Sques (skews) for the gables at 6d. p. foot	2 2 0
30 feet of keying stones @ 1s.	1 10 0
500 Slates	0 15 0
50 bolls Lyme @ 9d.	1 17 6
Workmanship	3 0 0
	9 4 6

IV. Domestic Accounts

Acct. of Articles furnished by Doctor Fullarton for his house keeping since I came to the Island, viz. :

2 gross of Corks from Ayr	0	2	1
$\frac{1}{2}$ stone Candle from do.	0	13	0
1 Hogshead of Bear (beer) from Ayr	1	0	3
1 do. of Porter from do.	3	15	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ lib Mustard	0	1	0
$\frac{1}{2}$ lib. Piper (pepper)	0	0	8
3 doz. Red port	2	14	0
15 lib Sugar	0	11	$6\frac{1}{2}$
Néil Henry for freight of do. to Ayr	0	10	0
6 sheep at 9s.	2	14	0
1 lib Bohea	0	2	6
3 sheep from Ax. M'Grigor	1	1	0
	£13	5	$1\frac{1}{2}$

To Betty Hamiltons Acct. of Washing	1	1	8
To Ax. M'Grigor's Bill of intertainment	4	1	6
a sheep	0	9	0
	£18	17	$3\frac{1}{2}$

Follow the articles charged by William M'Gregor as paid by him for house keeping since I came to Arran.

From 26 Sep^r to 29 December (1772)

To Patrick Heron for 1 Hogshead

Porter	£3	9	6
3 gross Corks	0	3	0
	3	12	6
30 Pints rum @ 2s. 9d. and $15\frac{1}{2}$ @ 2s. 8d.	6	3	4
3 Pints Gin @ 2s. and 1 pint brandy @ 3s.	0	9	0
Wheat Bread	0	16	6
32 lib. buter @ 7d. and $11\frac{1}{2}$ do. @ 8d.	1	6	4
36 doz. Eggs @ 2d. and 9 do. @ $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.	0	7	$11\frac{1}{2}$
2 Hins and 8 chickins	0	2	9

45 lib. Suggar @ 9½, 32 do. @ 10½d., and					
6 do. @ 11d.	3	9	1½		
2¾ lib. of Tea @ 6s. 6d.	17	10½			
1 lib. do. @ 3s.	3	0			
				1	0 10½
6½ stone Candles @ 8s. 8d. £2 16 4					
18½ do. do. @ 6d.	9	3	0		
				3	5 7
12 pecks potatoes @ 7d.	0	7	0		
10 lib. Cheese @ 4d.	0	3	4		
¾ lib. piper 1s. and ½ lib. mustard 1s.	0	2	0		
52 lib. barley @ 2d., 8 do. @ 3d.	0	10	8		
2¾ Bolls meal @ 18s.	£2	9	4		
3⅔ Bolls do. @ 16s.	2	10	0		
				4	19 4
2 Cows				5	0 0
Sum 1st Account					<u>£31 15 5½</u>

From 29 Dec^r to 4 January 1773

24½ lib. buter @ 8d.	0	16	2		
8 lib. sugar @ 10d. & 9 do. @ 10½d.	0	14	6½		
38 lib. Candles 6½	1	0	7		
12 do. Barley @ 2d.	0	2	0		
3 doz. Eggs @ 2	0	0	6		
Amons (almonds)	0	1	1		
8 pecks flour	0	10	6		
Barm	0	0	7		
2¼ Bolls meal @ 16s.	1	16	0		
1 pint Rum	0	2	8		
2 Bottles vinegar	0	1	6		
½ lib. Tea	0	3	3		
3½ pecks salt @ 8d.	0	2	8		
2½ doz. Eggs	0	0	5		
a stone of Fresh Beef	0	4	6		
4 pecks potatoes	0	2	4		
2nd Account				<u>£5 18 11</u>	

III

In the end the degree of success to Burrel's credit is not great, judging from the accounts of later investigators. The common pasture remained undivided; but he had resigned himself to that. Enclosures, however, went no further forward, save in the case of the head-dykes separating the arable land from the pasture, and these Mr. Headrick dismisses as 'useless.' For the rest, the farms remained undivided and in joint tenancy, despite the project of 1772, or reverted to this condition by the breakdown of the enclosing scheme. There was indeed little of the alluring about this scheme, in view of the immediate and prospective increase of rent. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the only tenant in the island who had a self-contained farm of hill and dale, apart, for his own, was Mr. Crawford of Machrie, who had also introduced black-faced sheep with an Argyllshire shepherd; but even his farm appears to have been unfenced, for 'all the sheep and cattle of the island' intruded upon his grazing, because he kept it in good condition. Mr. Hamilton of 'Glenluig' (Glenlaogh) was another who had introduced superior sheep, but he had to put them on the common. Otherwise the system already described was in full operation, turning out its two and threefold crops of barley, oats, and pease, while the more prolific potato had become the staple food of the people. And very good potatoes, too, in the opinion of Mr. Headrick. The offer by Burrel of additional souns for every acre of waste land brought under cultivation can scarcely have accomplished much, since every one continued to crowd as many cattle on the pasture as he could, some who held no land at all, others greedily overstepping a fair allowance, and the cattle wizened and poor through scarcity of feed.

Thus it is written in 1807: 'Small as this rent is for such an extensive island, it is believed that part of it is extracted from other sources than the produce of the land; and that

according to the present system of management, the people could not bear an additional rise.' ¹

The routine of the island life in the eighteenth century, as it might be observed by an outsider, was simple and laborious enough. From the beginning of February to the end of May all are at work on the land, each farm, however, setting its own times and following its own methods by common agreement. Summer is the season for the cutting and storing of peat as the only fuel in use, and along with this the houses must receive their annual repair; being such as they are, they require constant attention. The women do most of the reaping, at which they are very skilled, cutting (with the hook) 'close and clean.' It is they, too, who set the potatoes. Harvest home, the men go to the herring fishery, and in the autumn there is also a burning of fern for kelp. Most of the kelp, however, was made from the sea-wrack, but neither the stones on which wrack might grow nor the facilities of the Arran beach are very favourable to this industry. The wrack was most abundant on the rocky southern shore and round Pladda and the Holy Isle. A smack used to call every year at Torlin, Lag, and the Cleats to take away the kelp, while tenants came in boats to cut a share of the richer crop of sea-plants in that coast and in both islands, paying the tenants of the Holy Isle 2s. a boatload for the privilege. An old farmer, born in 1816, tells how, when he was a young man, he and his neighbours in Blairmore used to take a smack round to the south end in the spring to cut the wrack there. The local people had all they required from the shore: the visitors took it from the rocks, and each party helped the other. Each smack-load, for the hire, whisky (it was a cold wet business), and provisions, cost about two pounds. Kelp was being made till about 1836.

¹ *View of Arran*, p. 306. Gross rent is £5500, which was about ten shillings per acre for arable land, allowing nothing for hill pasture.

Of this crude manufactured stuff, which was produced by burning the dried wrack, and which was a soda, some was used for bleaching the native linen. It also supplied the basis of the home-made soap. The sea plants themselves made excellent manure. But beyond this the leases, started in 1814 and repeated in 1828 and 1835—after which the small tenants possessed only from year to year—in every case contained a clause binding the tenant to furnish a ton of kelp yearly. Obviously the manufacture had been in existence before the earliest date. At 2s. per hundredweight it was credited to the rent; if not made or of poor quality 4s. per cwt. was charged against the tenant for the amount of shortage.¹ The landlord, of course, saw a good profit before him at that rate; hence the fine for his loss.

It is the testimony of one aged tenant that 'whisky and kelp were the two ways people made their money.' But the industry was really fading away before the last leases had expired.²

During the indoor life of winter the men made herring nets, while the women spun flax and wove the coarse woollen cloth which habited themselves and their families. As an interlude there was the sheiling vacation, now wholly obliterated, when the butter and cheese were made in the *bothan airidh*, on the mountain pastures.³ For food there was chiefly potatoes and meat, with dried goat or mutton as 'kitchen' in the hard days of winter. Not a gay life to the superficial eye of the stranger. Pennant usually saw things on their worst side, and he is insistent on the 'dejection' exhibited by the Arran faces: 'no time can be

¹ But no kelp is credited in the estate books to tenants in Loch Ranza or Lamlash, where any made was reserved for their own use.

² Information mainly from the precognitions of witnesses (1898) in the case regarding the ownership of the Arran foreshores. Ownership was settled in favour of the estate.

³ 'The people here make very little cheese, except some from skimmed milk for their own use. But they make excellent butter, of a bright yellow colour, and fine flavour; which they cure with Irish salt in a very superior style' (Headrick, p. 321).

spared for amusement of any kind ; the whole being given for procuring the means of paying the rent, of laying in their fuel,¹ or getting a scanty pittance of meat and clothing.’² There were distractions, however, to which the traveller perhaps did not give proper weight : the inhabitants, we are informed by an authority in 1793, ‘ attend divine service with great regularity ; are well acquainted with the Scriptures ; show a good example to their children, and instruct them in the principles of Christianity.’³ And in the past half-century a healthy population had increased considerably. Moreover, if the climate was frequently unpleasant, Martin found, a hundred years before, that ‘ the natives think a dram of strong waters is a good corrective.’ It is always difficult to gauge the happiness of other people.

If we are to accept implicitly the evidence of Mr. Headrick, Arran in one respect was a stage beyond the equipment of the Highlands generally, indeed of much of Scotland, and that was in its housing. But, compared with other contemporary accounts, Headrick’s description seems to be true only of the very best examples. The houses of the tenants clustered in little groups somewhere near one end of the farm, constituting the ‘ farm-toun ’ ; and round them stretched a piece of pasture land, on which the cattle might be collected and by which they could be led beyond the corn land. This was the ‘ loaning.’ The houses, built by the farmers themselves,⁴ were of stone and clay, thatched

¹ ‘ There are extensive tracts covered with thick peat in the island of Arran, mainly on the higher plateau-like ground between 700 and 1700 feet above the sea, but occasionally it is found at lower levels, as on the old raised beaches on either side the lower part of the Machrie Water. It was formerly much used for fuel all over the island, and almost everywhere old peat-roads to the hills still exist’ (*Memoirs of Geol. Survey*, vol. xxi. pp. 146-7). Peat is still much used on the west side.

² Pennant, p. 176.

³ Rev. Gershom Stewart, minister of Kilbride, in *Statistical Account*.

⁴ Headrick, p. 312. *General View of the Agriculture of Bute*, by William Aiton, p. 99. Aiton remarks : ‘ The houses, or rather huts, are deplorable hovels, built without mortar,’ p. 79.

with straw sometimes, with heather more often, over which hung the heather ropes weighted with stone as a protection of the roofing against the wind; such a wind as on one occasion, the old folks say on the west side, blew the ripe grains out of the heads of barley, so that women now old had then, as little girls, to help in gathering them off the fields. In every case the dwelling-house held two apartments, a 'but' and a 'ben.' Within the doorway of the larger apartment was a porch formed by a screen of clay-plastered straw, in which also there was a door. The fireplace, at the opposite end, was of flat stones sunk in the floor, and had a free space all round it,¹ while the smoke escaped through a hole in the roof, above which rose a conical chimney-head lined with clay, supplying a draught. From a cross-beam hung the crook for the cooking-pots, and a 'swey' or small crane made it possible to use large boilers.

Often the byre was entered from a door off the hallan, but not by the cattle, which had their own entry: Burns in this way refers to the milk cow 'that, yont the hallan snugly chews her cood.'

Wooden beds or bunks filled up the partition between the outer and inner apartment, or a clay whitewashed screen, and there was a passage and door through. This was the superior room. It was floored with flag-stones or deal boards and might have also a ceiling of deal, while the walls were whitewashed or even plastered. A fireplace within jambs and a chimney in the wall were a further distinction from the kitchen. Glass windows were not yet universal, and the outer room had often to do with a shuttered casement, but they were likely to be found in the inner apartment, since on the window alone, as the only opening to the outside, it depended for its light.

¹ 'In my father's father's time there was no girdle in use in Shisken. At that time the fires were in the middle of the floor, and the bannocks were baked so thick that they stood up against stones placed round the fire, and were cooked in that way' (Communicated).

Each tenant had a byre, stable, and shed for implements, some even had a shed for peats. The kiln was usually common to the village, in shape like an inverted cone, where the corn, laid upon straw supported by cross props, got a perilous and irregular drying from the peat fire at the opening of the level. Whatever assistance in materials they might get, these buildings were 'all constructed and repaired by the people themselves; which occupies much valuable time during summer; and they are arranged without order or symmetry.'¹

Implements were almost solely of wood, and wood had become a rare material in Arran, owing to the reckless way in which the plantings had been treated.² To get new stuff meant a boat's trip to Ayr or Argyllshire, when it was heard that the woods were being cut; and between time, which might be a fortnight's absence, and labour, the cost would run pretty high. The wooden plough required two pairs of horses and often as many men, to lead, direct, and finish behind with a spade, probably also of wood. The *cascrom*, or foot-plough, was at this time unknown in Arran.³ Much use was made of the sledge on two poles, into which the horse was yoked; a creel or a wooden back served to contain the manure or peats. At South End, or where there was level ground or anything like a road, small light carts might be found, which were imported from Ayrshire: 'a proof that they are willing to adopt the most improved practices, were they put into a situation to render it possible.'⁴ But

¹ Headrick, p. 315.

² 'It being observed that no regard is had to growing trees, but that every one cuts and destroys them at their pleasure, and in the most barbarous manner cutting off the verry tops of the growing trees for bedding to their body in place of heather which is much better, for rigwoodys to their carrs and bindings for their cattle in place of ropes, which is much better for the purpose,' etc. Follows an intimation of the legal penalties for cutting growing timber (Burrel, May 1770).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317. '... the inhabitants, though peaceable and willing to become industrious, are, by the situations in which they have hitherto been placed, doomed to

for all cross-country traffic there were only the packhorse and the sure-footed little ponies of the island; sledges even could not find a way over the rough interior or from farm to farm. The making of roads owed a beginning to the Duchess Anne, and all the statute-labour regulations had sufficed to do nothing but keep these poor tracks in repair. Moreover, going straight on, not round but over a hill, they were the work of people who thought nothing of wheeled traffic, which was everywhere in Scotland an exceptional luxury. A road of this description led through Glen Sherrairg to the other side, and another from Brodick to Lamlash.¹ A very steep track went from Shisken to the limestones of the Clachan Glen, and a track on the north side of this glen went over to Lamlash. Of stone bridges not a single example: there were only wooden spans.

The manner of life depicted above will be found to underlie many of the folk anecdotes noted here and there. Joint farming was bound to give rise to incidents in which friction would develop between the more energetic and the more casual workers. Sometimes it is a ridiculing of the former, as in the case of the Glenree woman, who took advantage of a fine harvest moon to cut her rig, only to find in the morning that the reaping she had done was not of her own, but of a neighbour's crop, and that, in snatching 'straps' to bind her sheaves from, as she thought, the standing corn of another, she had really been encroaching on her own. Much depended too on the character of the *Fear Bhaile*, the headman of the township, the arbiter in disputes, he who fixed the time to begin any stage of the common work. If he and his family were easy going, irksome would be the wait which the rest would have, holding off for the leader to make a start, since neither planting nor shearing could there be till

poverty and misery, out of which they cannot, while things remain on their present footing, extricate themselves.'—Aiton (in 1810), p. 79.

¹ Aiton, p. 327.

the great one was on the spot. As we have seen, too, in the previous chapter, the straying of one person's cattle into another person's corn might divide a township into warring sections. Or whole townships might be at variance over their respective rights of pasture, as in October 1779 when Hector M'Alister, tenant on Moine Choill¹ (Monyquil), petitions for liberty to pasture his cattle in Tornacraig (Tarnacreige) as usual, and the Commissioner records: 'Finding that the above piece of ground has occasioned a great deal of ill-humour amongst the tenants of the three contending towns, *i.e.* Monnyquile, Glenloig, and Dinnenach, and finding that the ground itself will only maintain the number of 20 cattle, therefore agree that, till such time as his Grace shall think proper to plant that ground, that the tenant of Monnyquile shall have liberty to pasture 9, the tenant of Glenloig 4, the tenants of Dinnenach 7 head of cattle, and this settlement to continue till such time as his Grace shall think proper to alter it.'

One dignified official must not be forgotten—the Deputy-Admiral of Arran. The Commission for this office to Alexander M'Grigor of 'Knochan,' in 1782, empowers him 'to seize and take possession of in his Grace's name the whole wrecks of ships and boats with their contents, together with timber or any other articles floated by water, and whatever seizures you make that you shall have one-fifth part of the value thereof; and for your further encouragement pay the expense you may lie at in making any apparatus for weighing and bringing to shore the great numbers of anchors lying in the harbour of Lamlash or in any other harbour in the said isles, in place of one-fifth of the value thereof you shall be allowed one-half.' The Duke himself was Admiral with these rights of flotsam and treasure-trove, which he thus exercised through a deputy: it was not a warlike dignity.

¹ On Hector M'Alister see further p. 111.

CHAPTER X

IMPROVEMENT AND EMIGRATION

Religious life—the Revivals of 1804-5, 1812-13—the ‘outcrying’ and various opinions thereon—an Arran communion and church-going—renewal of improvement in the island—clearances and emigration—the Sannox clearance—the occasion of the Canadian Boat Song—story of Megantic settlers—condition of the other properties, the Westenra and Fullarton estates—exports of the island—population—commercial directory.

I

To the prophet on the mountain there came first a great wind and thereafter an earthquake. Arran in the early years of the nineteenth century was first profoundly moved by successive outbursts of religious emotion, then suffered a social upheaval, in which, over the greater part of the island, the old order of things and the old landmarks were finally removed.

For both experiences the island was still almost virgin soil. Arran, we have seen, had at no time, so far, been marked by any prominence in religious zeal. The religious revivals which had spread from district to district of Scotland in the years after 1742 never touched its shores. A ‘slumber of spiritual death’ is the description of the religious state of the island at the beginning of the nineteenth century. ‘Thirty years ago,’ it is written, ‘the state of religion in this island was exceedingly bad.’¹ Yet Kirk Sessions had been pretty wakeful throughout the eighteenth century, nor had ministers been asleep. The Rev. Gershom Stewart, in

¹ *Revival of Religion in Arran*, by Rev. Angus M‘Millan, minister of Kilmorie (1830).

his appreciation of the religious character of the people,¹ had, of course, a different measure of judgment, a measure, too, which has little in common with the phenomena of enthusiasm and emotional outpouring which are the grounds of judgment of the later critics. To these Evangelicals being moderate was to be in spiritual darkness. It is a moderate mind who viewed the characteristics of revival in the following fashion: 'Upwards of twenty years ago, owing in a great degree to the encouragement given by the minister of one of the parishes, a great number of people were led to believe that their conversion must be instantaneous and palpable, and that the operations of the Holy Spirit should be as manifest now as in the time of the apostles.'² The fuller bearing of this statement will be made clear presently: it is cited in this connection only to help in showing the radical difference in point of view, and how what is admirable to one side may seem obnoxious to the other. And it is quite possible to exaggerate either way: neither were the people of Arran so bad before one particular date, nor so good after another, unless we take a very narrow test of goodness.

Moreover, it is very possible to read wrongly the habits of a people. For example, in 1800 the brothers Haldane visited Arran on a preaching tour. Robert and James Haldane had both resigned promising positions in the Navy and devoted themselves and their wealth to the propagation of their own reading of Christian teaching, which finally brought them into conflict with the Church of Scotland and resulted in their setting up independent congregations of worshippers in 'tabernacles,' as their meeting-houses were called. In the year mentioned these men preached in the villages and townships of the island, generally, as their habit

¹ See p. 141.

² Mr. Paterson's (factor) 'Account of the Island of Arran' in *Prize Essays of the Highland Society*, N.S., vol. v. pp. 141-2.

was, in the open air. A record of their impression runs thus: 'The ignorance of the Celtic inhabitants was great, and as an instance of their rude¹ manners, Mr. James Haldane mentioned, at his Jubilee Meeting in 1849, that on a sacramental occasion he had been present, in a parish church, when there was a pause, and none of the people seemed disposed to approach the Communion tables. On a sudden he heard the crack of sticks, and looking round saw one descend on the bald head of a Highlander behind him. It was the ruling elders driving the poor people forward to the tables, much in the same manner as they were accustomed to pen their cattle at a market. Had this happened in a remote corner of Popish Ireland it would have been less wonderful, but the Gaelic population of Presbyterian Arran seemed accustomed to submit to this rough discipline without a murmur.'²

Now any Highlander, or any one familiar with the external forms of Highland religion, will recognise the fallacy of this interpretation. It was, and to some extent still is, a mark of Highland piety to be unwilling to 'go forward' to the Communion table, to delay, to hesitate, to be adjured by the officiating clergyman, to be pushed and encouraged by neighbours. Contrasting Highland and Lowland practice, one well qualified to speak describes how Highlanders from 'sensitiveness of conscience, shrink from approaching the table of the Lord, fearing that it is not legitimate nor safe for them to do so.'³ What Mr. Haldane saw was a perhaps extreme and ludicrous instance of this modesty, but what it certainly was not is the interpretation he puts upon the incident.

The Haldanes left their deepest impression in the Sannox

¹ Rude in the religious not mannerly sense, 'primitive' rather than impolite.

² *Lives of Robert and James Haldane*, p. 281.

³ *The Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire*, by Dr. Kennedy, p. 139. Many pages are devoted to a discussion of the Highland and Lowland practices in this connection. The present writer can speak as an eyewitness of backwardness of this type.

district, where, in 1834, after all that had happened there, a congregation of Independents, reduced to not more than a dozen, survived as a remnant.¹ There is still such a congregation. Otherwise almost the whole population was of the Established Church.

It is clear, then, that it is with the visit of the Haldanes that the religious movement in Arran had a beginning. They it was who sowed the fiery seed.² So much, too, is shown by the fact that it was in the north end of the island, 'about the farms of Sannox and their neighbourhood,' that the religious activity of 1804-5 had its origin. But its effects, 'a kind of reformation,' were most conspicuous in, though not confined to, the parish of Kilmorie, in which the Rev. Neil M'Bride had been settled since 1802. Mr. M'Bride had the temperament and manner suited to such occasions, and with this series his name has come to be specially associated. The spread of the first wave of revival was slow, and, in comparison with later occurrences, it may be described as in no way exceptional. And, as in all cases of strong emotional experience, relapse or reaction inevitably followed, and the religious mind of stronger cast judged such psychological frailties rather hardly. Moreover, the revival was not 'in all cases saving as to its effects. Many under it assumed a form of godliness who were altogether destitute of its power.'³ This qualification, too, applies to all the periods of revival.

The reaction went even further; though possibly there is over-statement, a blackening of the shadow. 'In 1810 and 1811, many were lower and more abandoned in wickedness than they had been at any former period.' In those days, however, as we have seen, the possibilities of sin were

¹ Paterson's *Account*, p. 141.

² But no mention is made of them in the Rev. A. M'Millan's tract. Can it be that he was influenced by the attitude of the Church to these laymen?

³ Rev. Angus M'Millan. All citations not otherwise placed are from this tract. Mr. M'Millan was a native of Sannox.

numerous, in view of the standard erected. Thus it is noted here that the 'breaking out' was mostly 'among the young, who had been brought under temporary restraint.' No details are given, but after all the opportunities of serious evil-doing were surely pretty restricted: Arran was not Nineveh or a city of the plain.

Within a year the wave had risen from the hollow to the crest, and 1812-13 was the time of the Great Revival, in responding to which 'the number of old people was small compared with that of the young,' though the ages ranged 'from nine years or under to that of sixty or upwards.' This was the time of the 'outcrying,' at first 'attended with very little bodily agitation; but after . . . it was generally attended with these—such as panting, trembling, and other convulsive appearances.' Those who took part in such demonstrations confided to Mr. M'Millan 'that they had not the most remote idea of crying out before they were constrained to do so.'¹ But it is proper to observe, this judicial commentator goes on, 'that the writer is here speaking only of such as were lively exercised Christians previous to this revival. On examining others, who knew nothing of Christian experience before the beginning of this work, he found that the first impressions of many of them were accompanied with deep convictions of sin, with a painful sense of their helplessness and misery as sinners, and also with earnest desires after an interest in Christ; which it is to be hoped many of them attained. But it must be acknowledged that the accounts given by all were not alike satisfactory. Many were deeply affected externally who could give little account of the matter. Their affections were moved, but convictions of sin did not take any deep hold on their hearts

¹ 'A plain lad, whose heart was filled with joy in believing, was heard praying at one of these meetings: "Lord, pity the people in Kilmorie who are content with tatties and sour milk, when they might have their soul satisfied with fatness." '—*Thirty Years of Spiritual Life in the Island of Arran*, by Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, p. 6. Glasgow, 1889.

and consciences, and so their awakenings soon passed away ; at least, it was with some.'

These candid reflections warrant the introduction of an account from a more unsympathetic mind : ' Almost at every meeting, when a clergyman or other person, who they judged to have the Spirit, presided, great numbers, especially of women and children, were moved in a most extraordinary manner, uttering strange cries, trembling and falling into convulsions, so that the service could not go on with regularity.' ¹ The summing-up of this writer is ' that these conversions produced no apparent good effects on the people.' This judgment may be discounted, but even in Mr. M'Millan's relation there is distinguishable a note of honest disappointment. Multitudes flocked to the services, they travelled ten or fifteen miles to attend, they so crowded the building as to tread on each other ; services were prolonged into private houses and barns, and some even spent whole nights in such ecstasy. In the spring of 1813 this ' awakening began to decline ' and ' It is doubtless true that, as the awakening declined, some of those who appeared at one time much affected, and much engaged in religious pursuits, began to grow cold . . . like the stony-ground hearers, the religious impressions of many were slight and transitory.' And, he sadly continues, ' Even in respect of the best of us, the zeal, fervour, and liveliness manifest during the time of our revival, have suffered some decay ; and . . . instead of these, coldness, deadness, and formality in religion are now too prevalent among us.' And so we are back at the

¹ Paterson's *Account*, p. 142. From a private contributor : ' Clapping of hands and exclamations were common in the congregation among some of the people. It was disturbing to many who went to church to worship. One member encouraged it and another denounced it ; for it was known that a few of those professing were questionable characters, though doubtless there were many true Christians among them. A farmer whom I knew was so much excited at the time that he day after day mounted his horse and rode through the fields, singing aloud with heart and soul the Psalms of David to the tunes that are usually sung in Church.'

point where we started, and the scorned eighteenth century may have something to say for its religious worth after all. But undoubtedly these experiences did leave a mark and a memory of a continuing character in the religious life of the island.

For one thing, and it is no small thing, they probably determined the attitude of the Arran people in the great ecclesiastical conflict which was shaping itself by the time that younger generation had come to maturity.

Some personal notes may here be introduced. The first comes from a lady's letter of September 6, 1823, to a relative in Prestonpans. She is evidently a Congregationalist and residing at Sannox, where the minister of that denomination there, fruit of the Haldane visit, was the Rev. Alex. Mackay, 'rather a vague preacher,' the correspondent complains; 'much respected here, though as a preacher not so well liked as a Mr. M'Millan an established minister.'

The people here are remarkably decent and civil, many of them pious, almost all of them have worship twice a day in their families. I think my mother would like this place very much, it is so mild and so retired and the scenery is so beautiful. She would have great pleasure in going into the cottages which are scattered up and down the glens and conversing with the people. It is a great source of amusement and interest to us—and they are all so civil.¹ To-morrow is the communion here, and though he is but an indifferent preacher, he has excellent assistants. He takes no part in the duties of to-

¹ Paterson says of the people: 'They are very polite and insinuating in their address, and rarely exhibit those awkward and boorish manners so common on the mainland' (p. 144). Of the Kilmorie people, in the *New Statistical Account*, it is said, 'In their manners they are courteous and affable, having little of the awkward embarrassment which the Highland peasantry generally manifest in addressing strangers and superiors.'

For Kilbride, in his very able contribution, the Rev. Dr. M'Naughton writes: 'The people exhibit in their manners a curious mixture of the Highlander and Lowlander, with the bland courtesy of the former . . . they have learned to blend no inconsiderable share of the bluff and sturdy independence of the latter. The Highland character, however, decidedly predominates.'

morrow himself, from the deficiency of his memory he cannot exhort at the tables without his paper, and does not therefore do any of the duty. The church is six miles from this, but notwithstanding the roads hereabouts were covered with people going to church to-day, some in carts, some on horses, double, and many walking.

The red cloaks¹ and tartan plaids gave vivacity to the scene, and could we have thought them all animated with a spirit of devotion the spectacle would have been truly gratifying, but I fear many make of it too much a ploy and an occasion for the display of new clothes; for in many of the houses we found tailors making clothes for the occasion, and in one house a fine red cloak for the gude-wife (Sabbath evening). The road to church exhibited to us a novel spectacle—cart after cart in thick succession conveyed the aged and those unable to walk²—many were on horseback, and many on foot—all seemingly impressed with the sacredness of the day and the solemnity of the ordinance about to be celebrated. The common in front of the church was covered with vehicles, and with the horses which peacefully waited the return of their owners from the services of the day. Perhaps, two hundred horses were on the common. In the Church we had a pious discourse from Dr. Steven. The generality of the people preferred the gaelic of Mr. M'Millan from the Tent.

From another source comes the following piece of personal recollection referring to about the same time or a little later; by 1834 the scarlet mantles seem to have gone out.

The distance from Shisken to Kilmory Kirk across the moor would be six or seven miles, by the road farther. The people in ascending the hill going south frequently formed into squads and got merrily along; the lassies clean and tidily dressed would take off their shoes 'with an eye to economy' and skip along, and on nearing the Kirk sat by the Burn-side and put on their White stockings and shoes and then marched into the Church. The elder folk

¹ Scarlet mantles were the prevailing fashion for ladies since the later eighteenth century. They succeeded the plainer brown or tartan plaids, worn over the head, which had long been the female fashion in Scotland.

² 'We get a cart very reasonably, and the roads are just like a gravel walk.'



SUNDAY IN THE HIGHLANDS (ARRAN).

(From painting by J. MacWhirter, R.A., in the possession of Thomas M. Arty, Esq., Glasgow.)

went on Carts or on horse-back by the road, those who rode having their wives seated behind them, and with their scarlet mantles they commonly formed a picturesque sight.

Already, however, the social structure behind such scenes was in process of dissolution, and greater changes than that from scarlet mantles to calicoes or muslins and Leghorn straw hats, were putting their stamp upon the island life.

II

We have viewed Arran in the eighteenth century, its communities of joint-farmers, its open fields laboriously yielding what would now be considered very scanty crops, its waste intervals between the twisting rigs, its potatoes in lazy-beds, its unsown and unweeded meadow, its pasture crowded with stock, for which as the winter drew on there was but the alternative of death or starvation; all things in the grip of the routine of ages, paralysed by the suspicion that any improvement might tend only to the advantage of others—of the other members of the group or of the owners gathering where they had not strawed.¹

On a conservatism so rooted it was hard to exercise any stimulating influence. Burrel, among the things he had done, had not allayed suspicion of motives, as we have seen.

¹ William Aiton, reporting for the Board of Agriculture, writes in 1810 as follows:—‘It will no doubt be found, that the inhabitants are blamefully ignorant, indolent, and wedded to many prejudices and bad habits. But so were those on every other estate at the beginning, and even till after the middle of last century; and it is the fault of the proprietor alone, that those in Arran have not become as intelligent, industrious, and liberal as people in their rank on the other side of the frith. They and their forefathers have been always kept, and to this day they are uniformly placed in a situation that debars all improvement on the soil or their own condition, intellectual or pecuniary. When any of the inhabitants of Arran are placed in advantageous circumstances in any other quarter, they are as active and intelligent as those of any other county: and if the proprietors of land in the neighbouring counties of Ayr and Renfrew, etc., had managed their estates till now in the way that that of Arran has been conducted, the inhabitants would have been to this day as ignorant, indolent, and prejudiced as those of Arran.’—*General View of the Agriculture of the County of Bute*, by William Aiton, Glasgow, 1816, p. 81.

The peasantry had failed to appreciate the maxim that the interests of the owner and of the cultivator were substantially one, that both stood to profit by a more scientific use and management of the land. There were unfortunate happenings in mainland and islands that hindered such appreciation.

But the forces of change were not to be denied. While the new agriculture was sweeping over the rest of the country like a reviving flood, even though it sometimes carried away communities in its improving course, Arran could not long expect to remain in a backwater. Some principles by which it was guided required no little independence of mind to understand. It was not easy to understand why the full economic use of land should mean the amount of produce and cattle it could raise without reference to the number of human beings thereby occupied; ¹ why, indeed, greater productiveness should mean fewer producers; why, too, redeeming waste land on the one hand should go along with turning cultivated land into pasture on the other, so that the net result should be less under tillage than before the improvements had begun. For, when all is said and done, 'apparently more land was formerly cultivated in the olden times. In the Millstone Point district there were at one time fourteen families residing at Cock, Cuithe, Lagan, and Lagantuin, where there are now but a farmer and a shepherd. In North Glen Sannox there was once a large population where is now but a solitary shepherd's house. Several deserted farmsteads in the high fields above Corrie, at North High Corrie, and elsewhere, tell of former cultivation where all is now pasture land.' ² The same tale is to tell of other

¹ There were two economic principles in vogue at the time; one was that increase of rent was a cause of improvement, because it was the high-rented farms that were the best worked—to pay the rent you had to improve; the other that a tax on wages, by lowering returns, produced better work and so greater results. Idleness was alleged to be a fault of workers both on the land and in factories, in England as in Scotland.

² *Memoirs of Geol. Survey* (21), p. 150.

parts farther south. The resolution of these discords is of course possible, but this is not the place for it ; all that is necessary here is to suggest why such improvement was feared and resisted by a people neither degenerate nor unintelligent, nor, as the sequel will show, averse from labour. The Arran pioneers of Megantic County, Quebec, were neither weaklings nor sluggards, yet Arran had thrust them forth.

It was in 1815 that the improvement of the Duke's property in the island was taken in hand and pursued for the next twenty years with firmness and system. It does not need detailed explanation. One has just to picture to oneself the methods of the time before, as already analysed, and then turn one's eyes on any modern farm—compact, singly occupied, fenced, drained, and cleaned, with an appropriate rotation of crops and the implements of the time—and the difference is what was given a beginning in 1815.¹ Runrig came to a violent end on the Hamilton lands, though it lingered elsewhere a while longer, and may be said still to exist at Balliekin (Banleacain).

Some of the more serious accompaniments are these. Many smaller farms were appropriated to form larger farms of 100 to 400 acres arable each, and as no local man had the capital or experience to handle units of such size, farmers were introduced from other improved districts on the mainland. Others of the small holdings, in districts better suited for the rearing of sheep and cattle, were appropriated to this end. The rest was divided up for individual small tenants—in a few cases for sets of two—who had to build suitable houses, fence and enclose with ditches and hedges. For the houses they had timber and lime from the proprietor and a year's rent ; the plants for the hedges were also supplied. Regulations were laid down for the rotation of crops, and waste land in the fields was to be brought under cultivation. Later, terms were made for extending cultiva-

¹ Details from Paterson's *Account*, as cited.

tion to adjoining parts of the moor by use of the spade. When these fourteen and nineteen years' leases expired, the process of increasing the size of farms was taken another stage upwards, many small possessions being thus amalgamated.

Other restrictions imposed were these : sheep were prohibited except on the stock farms ; goats were banned 'as troublesome and unprofitable,' and so a distinctive feature of the island life disappeared ; the herds of swine had their free roaming severely circumscribed. For breaches of such rules there were fines, but these were exacted in the form of work upon roads ;¹ sheep found on unlawful farms seem to have been pointed by estate officials and had to be destroyed when claimed ; according to the popular story, they were simply confiscated.

As Burrel's bottom idea was the division of farms, the idea of the present operations, in addition to carrying out the division, and as a result of such division, was to increase the size of the minimum holding, ultimately to bring it up to what required at least one pair of horses to work. Previous to 1815 the ducal property had been set in 113 farms, each having from four to a dozen tenants ; after that date the division was in 458 farms, of which 53 were pretty large and the others were from two to forty acres. But during subsequent years, as has been said, there was further consolidation, in order to raise the lower limit of size. Sub-division was rigorously prohibited.

Obviously such changes could not be carried through

¹ *Road-making*.—The Patersons (father and son), who were factors in Arran, used to compel the Arran people to make roads as fines. Thus my father was fined for allowing a pig to stray on the road at Blackwaterfoot, and my brothers Archibald and John on his behalf had to make two chains of the road connecting Machrie with the String Road.

Donald MacMaster (deceased), farmer at Bruachbrek (Bruthadh Breac), Shisken, made a chain of the same road.

Duncan Cook (deceased), farmer at Corriecravie, made part of the road there between his farm and Blackwaterfoot as a fine. (Communicated.)

without effecting a revolution in the economic system and so in the social habits and outlook of the people. Every tenant was now on his own. He was an individual in the eye of the estate, not a member or representative of a group. He could be dealt with in isolation; the combination of the hamlet community had been dissipated. Moreover, in the cutting up of farms, in throwing together many small ones, and particularly in turning certain stretches of land into sheep and cattle runs, it was inevitable that not a few former tenants should find themselves unprovided for, and a good many actually turned off. Particularly the cottars, with little more than a dwelling-house and their labour, who had clustered round the hamlets, would find that for them no place had been provided, except to become the hinds of the large farmers.¹ In the island itself there was no way of fully absorbing this derelict population; some did find settlements in other quarters, others crossed to the mainland; a considerable number heard more loudly than ever the call of the West, and emigrated. 'Bay Chaleur'² were the words of charm.

Glenree was one of the districts in which the people had to make way for sheep (1825), and from that solemn glen many found places on the west shore about Slidderie. Against such compulsory removals the persons affected have an instinctive revulsion; it is at least undignified to find themselves yielding place to the 'four-footed clan.' Ancestral associations are not rooted up without groans, and the generality of people do not see their own good as clearly as those who are imposing it upon them. The first tenant

¹ 'Besides the conjunct tacksmen of the several farms, who occupy the arable lands run-rig, and change their possessions every year, there are generally some, and, in the greatest part of the farms, a great number of cottagers on every farm. On the farm of Slidderie the inhabitants amount to near 300 souls. But these cottages are, like the houses occupied by the tenants, extremely mean dirty hovels' (Aiton's *Survey*, p. 100).

² In New Brunswick, Gulf of St. Lawrence.

of Glenree, a Captain William M'Kirdy, while crossing from Ardrossan to enter into possession, was knocked overboard by a swinging boom and drowned. This accident was burdened with a significance appropriate to the occasion, so sensitive was the popular mind.

But the clearance which attracted most notice was that of Glen Sannox, which also was put under sheep. This took place in 1829, on the expiry of the first leases under the new system. In one instance twenty-seven families had to make way for a single farm.¹ Of the displaced population, whose religious enthusiasm and dissent have been dealt with above, a few drifted to neighbouring spots in the island or mainland, but the bulk courageously crossed the sea. Bay Chaleur in New Brunswick, Canada, had for some time been the land of promise to Arran ears, but now the Duke offered to secure from the Government, for such as wished to go, lots in Upper Canada or Ontario, the offer to remain open for two years. This destination, as we shall see, was changed, but the majority took advantage of the proposal. It was a new country, and every head of a household and every man over twenty-one was to have 100 acres of his own, while the Duke was to pay half the passage-money.² Thus, whatever judgment may be passed on this step as a move of improvement, whether judicious, wise, economic, or not, it was at least free from the harshness, even direct cruelty, and inconsiderateness exemplified in not a few contemporary cases.

But such a striking event as the deporting of a whole community across the ocean did not pass unnoticed by contemporary spectators, who have a point of view of their own; and it is not generally observed how it was the Glen Sannox removal that was the occasion for the composition of a familiar lyric, which sums up the full pathos of such

¹ *Annals of Megantic*, p. 7.

² Paterson, p. 141: 'More than four hundred of the people, principally from Sannox, emigrated to Lower Canada and Chaleur Bay.' Paterson says the grants were only for families; the statement of the emigrants is that in the text.



SANNOX PEAKS.

[Photo by Dr. C. Fred. Pollock, Glasgow.]

episodes in Highland history. In 'Noctes Ambrosianæ' of *Blackwood's Magazine* for December 1829, the poem so much discussed makes its first appearance, and follows on an utterance attributed to the 'Shepherd' (James Hogg) in these terms :

Weel, if the gentry lose the land, the Highland anes at ony rate, it will only be the Lord's righteous judgment on them for having dispossessed the people before them. Ah ! wae's me, I hear the Duke of Hamilton's cottars are a' gaun away, man and mither's son, frae the Isle o' Arran. Pity on us ! was there a bonnier sight in the warld, than to sail by yon green shores on a braw summer's evening, and see the smoke risin' frae the puir bodies' bit shielings, ilk ane wi' its peatstack and its twa three auld donnerd pines, or saughs, or elms, sugh-sughin' ower the thack in the gloamin' breeze.

These reflections lead on to the verses, which are introduced by 'Christopher North' (Professor Wilson) as sung 'by a set of strapping fellows, all born in that country (Canada),' yet still Gaelic-speaking, who rowed his friend down the St. Lawrence and sang to him the

CANADIAN BOAT SONG (*from the Gaelic*)

Listen to me, as when ye heard our father
Sing long ago the song of other shores,
Listen to me, and then in chorus gather
All your deep voices, as ye pull your oars :

Chorus—Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand ;
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us, and the waste of seas,
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides :

Chorus—Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand ;
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

We ne'er shall tread the fancy-haunted valley,
 Where 'tween the dark hills crept the small clear stream,
 In arms around the patriarch banner rally,
 Nor see the moon on royal tombstones gleam :

Chorus—Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand ;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

Where the bold kindred, in the time long vanish'd,
 Conquer'd the soil and fortified the keep,—
 No seer foretold the children would be banish'd,
 That a degenerate Lord might boast his sheep :

Chorus—Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand ;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

Come foreign rage—let Discord burst in slaughter !
 O then for clansmen true, and stern claymore—
 The hearts that would have given their blood like water,
 Beat heavily beyond the Atlantic roar :

Chorus—Fair these broad meads, these hoary woods are grand ;
 But we are exiles from our fathers' land.

Of course the friend and the rowers and the Gaelic are all feigning : the composition as it stands is the original and the immediate occasion as we have seen. Fortunately, in the excellent work of a descendant of one of the Sannox emigrants, we are able to follow the fortunes of the exiles in their new home.¹

III

Saturday, April 25th, 1829, is a day to be marked in the calendar of historic days at Lamlash. On the deck of the brig *Caledonia*, 196 tons burden, that had called in the bay while outward bound from Greenock to the St. Lawrence River, were gathered twelve families of Arran folk, 86 all told children and adults, the greater part of them from Sannox, with whom the Rev. A. Mackay held a religious

¹ *Annals of Megantic County, Quebec*, by Dugald M'Kenzie M'Killop. Lynn, Mass., 1902.

service, delivering an address from the text, ' Casting all your care upon Him ; for He careth for you ' (1 Peter v. 7). And so the little company in the little ship sailed hopefully away to the big, empty land across the ocean.¹

Others would have gone at the same time but there was no room. The brig had her complement of 180 ; but four families followed from Greenock in a larger vessel, the *Albion*, on June 5th, and others came a few years later, as the squeeze of improvement grew tighter. The *Caledonia* contingent included four families of M'Killop, three of Kelsos, two of M'Millans, with M'Kinnons, M'Kenzies, and Brodies to complete. Unmarried were two Stewarts, a Henry, and a Cook. A leader for the company was at once assumed in Archibald M'Killop, a Saul in stature among his fellows, devout, practical, and commanding. Preparations had been long making, and everything portable seems to have accompanied the emigrants in their great chests, plenty of homespun clothes, cooking utensils, some furniture and books. Gaelic Bibles particularly were no fruit of the backwoods : of these went a good supply.

Two long months at sea in a tumbling little ship before —on June 25th—they arrived at Quebec. Renfrew County, on the river Ottawa, was the destination of the Arran passengers, and so the ship was towed by a steamer up to Montreal. Of all the novel sights on the passage up the river, what stuck in the memories of the new arrivals was the odd appearance of the tree stumps in the clearings along the shore. After disembarking at Montreal, a fortnight at Point St. Charles was devoted to a great wash-up, nothing of the kind having been possible in the cramped quarters of the brig. And here the destination of the party was changed.

The immigration agent at Quebec had advised strongly against the site in Renfrew County, and while he may have

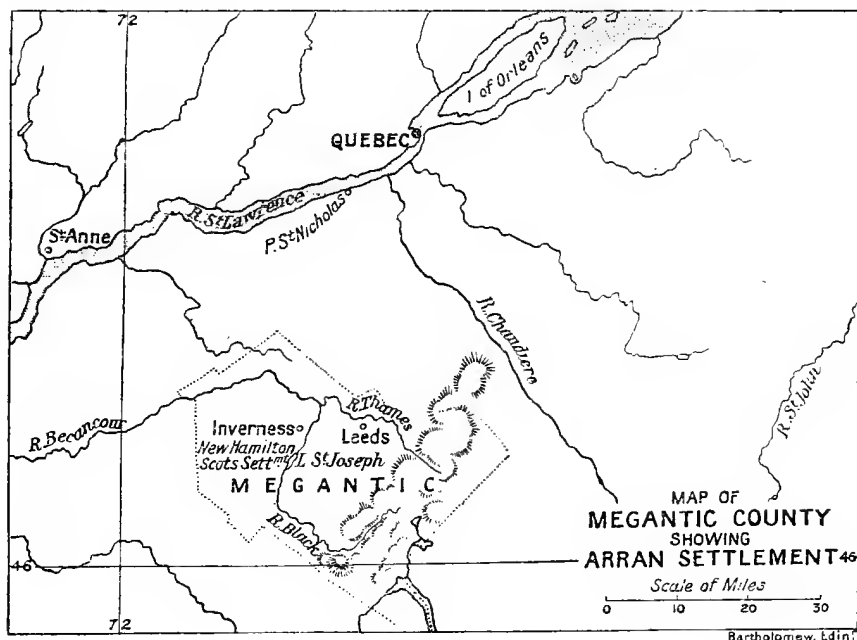
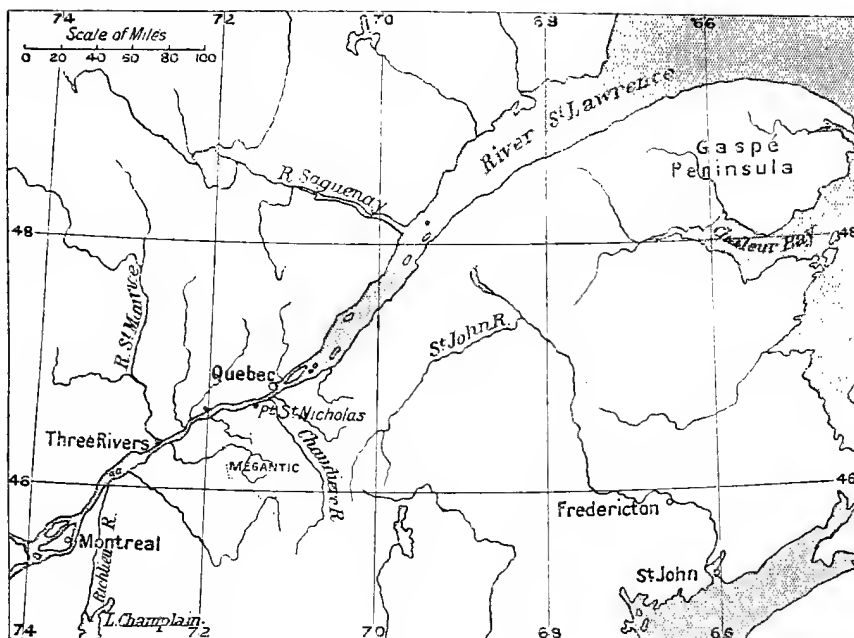
¹ The fare was £4 a head, but three children under fifteen counted as one.

had personal interests to serve, on the whole the advice was good. His recommendation was Megantic County in Lower Canada, now Quebec, at a place about fifty miles from that city on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, almost halfway between the river and the frontier of the United States. Archibald M'Killop and three others set out to spy the land, and returned with a favourable report. So once more there was a packing, and a trek back part of the way they had come, now by barges down the river to Point St. Nicholas nearly opposite Quebec city.

From this place the journey was inland by the pack-horses of French-Canadian teamsters, at five dollars per 'cart-load' of passengers or luggage. Thus in two days they came to the chosen spot in Inverness township, by a ford on the river Thames, in the neighbourhood of Lake Joseph. At this stage there was a wait of six weeks, until the Government agent should come to allot the lands, 'well watered and well wooded' certainly, the forest primeval of maple, hemlock, and spruce reaching backwards from the stream, trackless and untamed. Arran digging was child's play to this prospect; the experience of the settlers had not included such work with the axe.

Meantime there was the novel life in tents by the ford in the warm summer weather; tents of clustered poles covered with such motley stuffs as served, including the piece of carpet that marked Archibald M'Killop's wigwam. But there was some sickness, and two of the younger members of the party died; in these and other troubles and needs the new neighbours of the strange countryside were sympathetic and helpful. While the camp stood at the ford, the contingent by the *Albion* arrived.

At last the agent came and lots were apportioned, though in one detail the original contract was not fulfilled, viz. there were free acres only for the heads of families; but the acquisition of land by the others was not difficult.



Thus in the autumn of 1829 the work of clearing was begun, and the settlers were fortunate in the season. Little snow came till January of the next year, and on till March not enough to interfere with the progress of the work. A road was made, patches were cleared to be ready for sowing, and log-houses constructed as fast as possible; houses with a partition of bark between the two apartments, flooring of split logs of balsam or spruce, and a bark roof. So far the idea of the thing was familiar, but alas! the old fashion of the peat hearth with the smoke-hole above was not suited for the burning of green wood. Until stoves were introduced one had often to choose between being frozen with cold or suffocated with smoke. Candles, too, were luxuries. The severity of the frost was a trying experience; potatoes were frozen to stones, and meantime food had to be bought and carried considerable distances. No wonder two of the oldest members among the women succumbed during the first winter. But day after day, from dawn to dusk, every one who could do anything was kept busy, and by April 26th the snow was gone; so that the clearances for these first six months averaged four acres each, though Captain M'Killop had eighteen acres to his credit.¹ The name given to the township was New Hamilton, but that in time gave way to the usage of calling it the 'Scotch Settlement.'

Strange and hard though their circumstances were, with ceaseless demands at first upon their wits and powers of endurance, the colonists showed a quick adaptivity. In the beginning only the crops were fenced in and the cattle allowed to stray about the woods, which occasionally meant that some one lost his way for the night in looking for them. So woodcraft had to be learned, and the art of the canoe for the lake. The women had to help in the clearing, nurse their children, cook food, and devote the evenings to the spinning-wheel. The men had to take to hunting deer and

¹ M'Killop had received 200 acres, twice the amount of any other settler.

bear, fishing trout, and be able to turn their hands to any work in wood or iron. Some would go up the Ottawa in the winter to labour in the lumber camps. Till the crops were properly set agoing everything possible had to be done to earn money for the supply of necessaries of food and clothing. Even when the wheat and barley and potatoes were flourishing in the fertile soil, there was pinching, for some seasons, between the old and new crops. At such a time Highland pride had to fence with Highland generosity. The clothing brought from home gave out, and there had to be new supplies from the wool of their own sheep, the wool being put through all the processes at home before the erection of carding-mills. Trousers and coats were of a grey stuff composed, as in Arran, of the mixed black and white wool; dandier shirts and dresses of checks dyed with hemlock and butternut bark.

Travelling was hard before the making of roads and to some degree dangerous also, from the presence of bears and the chance of losing one's way; and there were some mishaps in the forest. On the snow there was the comfort and grandeur of the ox-sleigh, used mostly in going to church. Oxen and horses were at first very scarce, but gradually accumulated. Shopping was no light matter with the nearest store thirty-six miles away, and no post-office nearer than Quebec. And at the outset everything had to be carried by hand or on the back. Women, even, thus bore their burdens of maple-sugar, butter, cheese, etc., and brought back groceries, crockery, and such like—a trip of seventy-two miles. It is recorded of a John Sillars that he bought a hundredweight of flour at Quebec, had it ferried across to St. Nicholas, and then carried the load on his back for forty miles to his home.

Until a proper clergyman was settled in the district, marriages were as long-distanced an affair as shopping. For a time the ceremony meant a trip to Quebec, that is

for bride and bridegroom, bridesmaid and groomsman, a walk of forty miles to the crossing and forty miles back, on a rough highway by forest and clearing. Later, a clergyman could be found nearer at hand, which reduced the tramp to fifteen miles each way ; it became a point of honour to cover the whole distance in one day. Of course the time came when the settlement had its own minister and church, and could dispense with the services of a devout layman like 'Captain' M'Killop or a travelling clergyman ; though the first log church had to serve for all varieties, and it was a bit later ere the predominant Congregationalists had a tabernacle of their own. So, too, the first teacher went from house to house till a schoolhouse was provided ; where brown paper was used for copy-books, pens were made from quills, and a real lead pencil was a great acquisition.

The new country, too, raised some new religious problems. We have observed the fragility of the Sabbath in Arran ; it was broken as easily as a blown egg. Canadian frost made short work of one scruple. Water for use on Sunday must be carried in on Saturday ; such had been the rigid home fashion. But in the hard Megantic winter the supply froze overnight, and the iron vessels were cracked and marred. This was an extremely serious sacrifice ; while between the work necessary to break the ice and that of bringing in fresh water the difference was not even theologically apparent. So that particular observance had to be scrapped with the broken pots. Then in the season of sugar-making the maple sap flowed into the troughs regardless of days. Monday morning found the trough as full as usual. Nature, like St. Paul, esteemeth not one day above another. There was searching of conscience, until a parallel case suggested itself in the growing of corn, which, in its season, halts no day of the week. Thus may our religious prohibitions vary with the latitude : there was no keeping a Sabbath of the old Arran type in Canada.

Meantime some of the settlers had found their particular patches of ground of poor quality, having cleared the trees to meet a hidden crop of stones. They moved to fresh woods farther west. New settlers, too, were coming into the country, from Ireland and parts of Scotland, and other bands from Arran, particularly in the year 1831, when thirteen families arrived, to find things rather easier for them than they had been for the pioneers. By 1833 the Arran settlement numbered some 222 souls, made up as follows :¹—

Family Name.	Individuals.	Family Name.	Individuals.
McKillop . . .	51	Crawford . . .	9
Kelso	28	Henry	7
McKinnon . . .	19	Brodie	6
McKenzie . . .	15	Campbell	6
Kerr	13	Fullerton	6
Sillers	12	Cristie	2
Stewart	10	Gordon	2
Cook	10	Murchie	2
McKelvie . . .	10	Nichol	2
McMillan . . .	10	Hamilton	2

There is no need to carry the story of the settlement further ; how comforts increased, new habits and customs were formed, how the next generation provided its own doctors, ministers, lawyers, schoolmasters, and artisans. In response to the new demands, the expatriated people expressed a variety, skill, and adaptation of employments that would have been denied them in the homeland with its rigid lines of demarcation.

In 1837, when rebellion troubled the country, a company of volunteers was raised, and the inevitable Archibald M'Killop, its first captain, rose to be a major, and—after the rebellion—was promoted to colonel. The drilling was done at Quebec, and there are amusing stories of his unconventional methods in issuing orders. Colonel M'Killop

¹ *Annals of Megantic*, p. 42. Spelling of names, etc., as there given.

was already an inspector of schools (unpaid) and became a Commissioner of the Peace. He died in 1867.

On September 8th, 1898, a great Arran-Inverness picnic was held at the 'Scotch Settlement' on Lake Joseph, where one hundred people, including eight survivors of the pioneers, were joyfully reminiscent. 'Mr. Kelso said the pioneers were godly people without a black sheep among them. He said, also, that the men were very strong, and as an instance related that his father had carried three bushels of potatoes on his back, from the landing they had just left, two miles into the Settlement.'

For the Reunion two years later, there were but two representatives of the *Caledonia* passengers, and one too ill to come—all women; while a Fullerton was the sole representative of those on the *Albion*.

Where the hills of Arran swell, high above Lochranza's shore,
Few there are that live to tell of the friends they saw no more,
When from Scotia's favoured strand, still unstained by conquering foe,
Sailed that hopeful hardy band, more than forty years ago.

Dark and dense the wild woods lay, gaily green for leagues around,
There the savage beasts of prey undisturbed asylum found;
Then with pioneering toils, stalwart arms with many a blow,
Felled the woods and burned 'the Piles' more than forty years ago.

So, and in many other verses, sang the 'Blind Bard of Megantic,' another Archibald M'Killop, in 1872. And now it is forty more years on, but Arran and Megantic have not yet forgotten each other nor the memories that link them though so far apart.

IV

These things were done in the days of Archibald, ninth Duke of Hamilton and twelfth Earl of Arran, who died in 1819; and of Alexander, tenth Duke and thirteenth Earl, ambassador at the Court of Russia in 1807, who carried

the crown in the royal procession of August 22nd, 1822, when George iv. proceeded from Holyrood Palace to the Castle of Edinburgh. The minor proprietors of the island were not so forward in their policy. As yet there were two others besides the Duke. On the west side an encroachment had been made upon the Hamilton lands, when Douglas, the eighth Duke (1755-99), conferred certain unentailed portions upon his daughter Anne as a marriage dowry. These extended to about 15,000 imperial acres, and, according to advertisement, included the farms of 'Altgloch, South and North Penrioch, South, Mid, and North Thundergay, Catacol, Imachar, Dougarie, and Auchingallan.'

The mother of this Anne Douglas was Mrs. Easton, an actress, and her husband was the Hon. Henry Westenra, afterwards Lord Rossmore. Duke Douglas, leaving no other issue, was succeeded by his uncle Archibald, ninth Duke, as above.

We recognise the lands thus conveyed : they are the two old holdings of Ranald M'Alister in the fifteenth century, and afterwards of the Montgomerys of Eglinton. In 1838 they are to be offered for sale at the upset price of £34,000. The advertisement provides some interesting comments upon the state of things in this portion of the island. On behalf of Mr. Westenra it is stated that the property is too far from his residences and other properties for him to superintend the improvement which it requires. Further, no other property in the island is to be had by purchase ; while the island itself 'has been very strictly preserved, and all intrusion carefully prevented. . . . All strangers have been sedulously excluded, and Arran is almost a *terra incognita* to its very nearest neighbours.'¹ The advantages of purchase at the present stage are then set forth in these words :

¹ 'The Duke, being desirous of preserving the game in Arran, does not much encourage the residence of strangers.'—*Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, by Lord Teignmouth (1836), vol. ii. p. 394.

The property now offered for sale opens to the speculator in land a most desirable opportunity for profitable investment. No sort of improvement has ever been attempted upon it by landlord or tenant in the memory of man, consequently every sixpence laid out on it must tell ; and it is evidently much more in that state than property which has been wrought up to its utmost value, and requiring a great annual outlay to keep it to its mark. . . . To the sportsman it is invaluable. The hills abound with grouse, and there is a natural preserve in the centre of the property which ensures their protection and food in the most unpropitious seasons. Red deer are becoming more numerous, and the tenants can vouch for the amazing increase of the black game, by their annually augmenting inroads on the cultivated portions of the property.¹

In this description there is no exaggeration. For half a century the only change on these farms had been an increase in the amount of potatoes grown ; all the old conditions had continued—runrig cultivation, inferior houses, diminutive cattle and sheep.² The ten farms had rented at about £50 each to joint occupiers, so that with a total rent of £500 the upset price now asked was 68 years' purchase, a speculative figure, as is admitted. Yet the property does not seem to have been disposed of at this date, but some half-dozen years later was reacquired by the Hamiltons and again added to their estates. Improvement then attacked this new and promising field, and Dougarie was cleared for extension in large farms.

The other proprietor is John Fullarton, eldest son of Dr. Lewis, ex-lieutenant of the Royal Navy, and Commander of a Revenue cutter. Of his estates Whitefarland, on the north-west side, was still in the old condition, and its joint tenants paid a rent of £110. Kilmichael, however, being retained in the owner's hands, had been considerably improved, and showed increase both in arable and in the amount under

¹ *North British Advertiser*, Saturday, September 29, 1838.

² *Paterson's Account*, p. 145.

wood.¹ Captain Fullarton's initial difficulty was that of persuading his tenants of the possibility of sowing before the usual time, namely April, one of the rigid customs of a tenancy in common.²

According to an outside observer, much in sympathy with the new order and impatient of small holdings, 'The produce of Arran has been doubled during the last fourteen years by the improvement in cultivation, which dates from that period, and which has taken place chiefly in the enlargement of farms.' The following is an authoritative estimate of the yearly exports of the island,³ which may be compared with earlier data.

900 black cattle at £3, 10s.	£3,150
45 Swine at £1, 10s.	600
Fowls and eggs	700
Sheep and wool	2,500
Bigg (barley): 2500 quarters at 26s.	3,250
Wheat: 700 bolls at 24s.	840
Beans and pease: 900 bolls at 16s.	720
Oats, in grain and meal: 3000 quarters at 30s.	3,000
Potatoes: 3000 bolls at 10s.	1,500
Herrings caught by 100 wherries, at £40 per wherry	4,000
Butter and cheese	1,000
Shellfish	about 100
Freestone and limestone	500
	<u>£21,860</u>

The gross rentals about the same time were (1840) ⁴:

	Kilbride.	Kilmorie.	Total.
Duke of Hamilton	£4412	£6000	£10,412
Fullarton	100 (valued)	110	210
Hon. Mr. Westenra	...	500	500
			<u>£11,122</u>
Whole island			

¹ Paterson, pp. 145-6.

² Teignmouth, vol. ii. p. 394.

³ Paterson, p. 152.

⁴ *New Statistical Account*.

*Population*¹

	1821.	1831.
Kilmorie . . .	3827	3771
Kilbride . . .	2714	2656
	<u>6541</u>	<u>6427</u>

A tabulated statement of the professional and commercial side of the island may also be inserted here.²

The Isle of Arran (follows short description). Post Office, Lamlash, John Fullarton, Post Master.—Letters from Ardrossan arrive every afternoon (Sunday excepted) at one, and are despatched every afternoon at half-past two.

Post Office, Brodick, Mary Shaw, Post Mistress.—Letters from Ardrossan arrive every day (Sunday excepted) at one, and are despatched every afternoon at four.

*Gentry and Clergy.**Boot and Shoe Makers.*

Fullarton, John, Esq., Kilmichael. Robertson, William, Lamlash.

Hamilton, the Duke of, Arran Castle. Sillars, Peter, Lamlash.

Castle.

M'Allister, Major, Springbank.

Carpenters.

M'Credie, Dr., Currie (Corrie).

Fullarton, James, Lamlash.

M'Kirdy, Lieutenant, Bennan.

Kerr, John (and Joiner) Lamlash.

M'Millan, Rev. Angus, of Kilmory.

Thompson, James, Lamlash.

M'Naughton, Rev. Allen, of Kilbride.

Grocers, etc.

Maxwell, Miss, Silverbank.

Bannatyne, James, Lamlash.

Paterson, Adam, Esq., Silverbank.

Douglas, Robert, Currie.

Paterson, John, Esq., Whitehouse.

Fullarton, Neil, Brodick.

Shannon, Capt. Charles, Bannecargen.

M'Neish, Daniel (and Baker), Lamlash.

Stoddart, Robert, Esq., Sannox.

Shaw, Mary, Brodick.

Sillars, Peter, Lamlash.

Wright, Angus, Lamlash.

¹ See further Appendix C, p. 367.

² *Pigot and Co.'s National Commercial Directory of the whole of Scotland and of the Isle of Man.* J. Pigot and Co., London, 1837.

Academies and Schools.

Brown, Mary, Brodick.
 Craig, Daniel, Balmicheil.
 Currie, John, Shaddog.
 Grey, Robert, Brodick.
 Hodge, Daniel, Lamlash.
 M'Kelvie, John, Drimlarborra.
 Parochial School, Kilmory—
 William Eaglesham, Master.
 Parochial School, Lochranza—
 Alexander M'Bride, Master.
 Stewart, John, Whiting Bay.
 Wilkinson, John, Sliddre.

Blacksmiths.

Brown, Alexander, Brodick.
 Cook, James, Whiting Bay.
 Jones, Richard, Lamlash.
 M'Larty, Alexander, Auchonhew.
 M'Master, Angus, Shaddog.
 M'Millan, Duncan, Benecangan.

Inns.

Bannatyne, James, Lamlash.
 Jamieson, Robert, Brodick.
 M'Kenzie, Alexander, Lamlash.

Masons.

Boyd, James, Lamlash.
 Hamilton, William, Currie.
 Nemmo, Thomas, Lamlash.

Surgeons.

Cook, Charles, Lamlash.
 Stoddart, Andrew, Brodick.
 Stoddart, John, Brodick.

Tailors.

Fullarton, Fergus, Lamlash.
 Hamilton, James, Brodick.
 Shaw, Archibald, Lamlash.

Vintners.

Bannatyne, Ebenezer, Blackwater.
 Hamilton, John, Brodick.
 Hamilton, William, Currie.
 M'Bride, Matthew, Lamlash.
 M'Kennon, John, Lagg.
 M'Millan, Daniel, Lochranza.
 Robertson, Neil, Shaddog.

*Wrights (see Carpenters).**Miscellaneous.*

Fleck, William, flesher, Brodick.
 M'Nicol, Archibald, dyer, Lamlash.
 Spiers, Matthew, distiller, Lagg.

Places of Worship.

Established Church, Clachen	.	.	Rev. Angus M'Millan.
Established Church, Kilbride	.	.	Rev. Allan M'Naughton.
Established Church, Kilmory	.	.	Rev. Angus M'Millan.
Chapel of Ease, Kilmory	.	.	Rev. John Stewart.
Independent, Sannox	.	.	Rev. A. M'Kay.

Conveyance by Water.

To Ardrossan, *The Hero* steam packet, from Lamlash every afternoon (Sunday excepted) at half-past two, calling at Brodick.

To Ardrossan and Saltcoats, trading vessels daily.

To Glasgow, steam packets, from Lamlash and Brodick, every Monday and Thursday.

The County Almanac of Scotland for the year 1835. Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.

Brodick and Lamlash Post Offices are sub-offices to Saltcoats.

There is another side to the 'improvement.' It meant rather fewer people; curiously, too, it was followed by an increase of pauperism. Not that there was waste: it is hard to see what could be wasted. 'No people,' writes Dr. M'Naughton in 1837-40, 'can be more frugal than the natives of the parish (Kilbride). They live upon the humblest fare; potatoes are with the majority of them the staff of life; and animal food is a luxury in which they rarely indulge.' From Kilmorie the account is rather more rosy: 'Absolute destitution,' it is remarked, 'is a thing unknown among the very poorest.'¹ But then, like other Highland communities, Arran was distinguished by its mutual helpfulness. 'The farmers,' writes Lord Teignmouth about the same date, 'though in poor circumstances, never suffer distress, as they are much inclined to afford each other mutual assistance and support.' The Duke, too, maintained a few

¹ *New Statistical Account.*

pensioners, allowing them cottage and land at a nominal rent of £1, 1s. But it is noted that, as elsewhere, the church collections, hitherto the main fund for support of the poor, were decreasing, and that the opinion was gaining ground here too that the heritors were bound to support the poor. It is the same writer who is responsible for the information that the people of Arran 'are too poor to purchase spirits, and make very general use of tea : and it is the custom to prepare it for every visitor, as the dram was offered formerly ; this ceremony is sometimes repeated three or four times in the day, and is said to be productive of idleness.' ¹ Men like Lord Teignmouth are, at this time, seriously concerned about idleness in many quarters.

A few statistics may give point to these observations. In 1793 the population of Kilbride was 2545 and the number on the Poor Roll of the Kirk 12, supported by quarterly collections and the interest on a £40 investment. At the same date Kilmorie, with 3259 of a population, had 40 poor on its roll, for whom the weekly collections did not suffice, so that there was recognised begging. By 1835 the Kilbride population had sunk to 2397, yet the number of poor had gone up to 50, for whose support there was yearly a fund of £60 plus interest on a nest-egg of £100. In 1831 Kilmorie's numbers were 3779 and 75 respectively, dependent on £52 from collections and proclamation dues, with interest on £60. Then came the Poor Law of 1845, and in 1850 we find that Kilbride's population of 2786 included 68 on the Poor Roll, while Kilmorie's 3455 had 78 ; the former parish expending on these £178, 18s. 7½d. and the latter £185, 3s. 6½d. Since that date expenditure has increased exceedingly. Whether or not this is a record of advance the reader must be left to judge. Any way, it is an important element in the picture presented in this chapter.

¹ *Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland*, by Lord Teignmouth (1836), vol. ii. pp. 396, 399.

One other change, though somewhat later in date, may here be noticed. In 1844, on the occasion of the marriage of Anthony Archibald, eleventh Duke of Hamilton and fourteenth Earl of Arran, with the Princess Marie of Baden, the old village of Brodick, which had lain close to the castle on the north side of the bay, was demolished as a necessary step in improving the surroundings of the castle. New sites for houses were provided on the opposite shore at Invercloy, which is modern Brodick.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW ARRAN

Arran roads—short-lived industries—the new agriculture—the Fairs—Arran as a health resort—the coming of the steam-packets—steamboats and owners—the *Lady Mary* and the *Heather Bell*—the piers—Whiting Bay and the rival companies—the Disruption and the Free Church in Arran—the Union case—the Land Court—rents and game—conclusion.

I

THERE could be no greater handicap to the new agriculture than defective roads. We have seen what like the roads of the island were under the Duchess Anne, and in what poor esteem they were held by Burrel; how he took in hand to enforce the labour on roads imposed by statute upon each parish. That was not a satisfactory system of upkeep; it suffered from both unwillingness and negligence. And such roads as did exist were of the poorest quality.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the roads of the country began to receive the attention which they had not known since the days of the Romans. In 1810 the first modern road was made in Arran—a Parliamentary road, at the joint expense of the Government and the proprietors. It went from Goirtein Alasdair, a little south of Lamblash, to Brodick. Seven years later it was continued across the island to the shore at Blackwaterfoot. This road was maintained by a contractor, and the Duke's annual charge was from £40 to £80 a year.¹

In 1817 the Duke had a branch made to Sannox and, in

¹ *Report of Commissioners on Public Roads*, vol. ii. p. 711.

1821-22, a road across the southern part of the island, from the Parliamentary road at Lamlash by the Ros and Glen Scorradale to Beinnecarrigan, and at the same time other portions at Kilpatrick, Largie Beag, and Achancairn. In time these detached highways were joined up; the Sannox to Loch Ranza piece was constructed in 1843, and there is no more picturesque stretch in the island—from sea to sea, through deep-bosomed glens under the brow of the mountains.

For the maintenance of these privately made roads the method was still that of statute labour. Every tenant and cottar had to give six days' free work in the year, or compound for a money payment at rates fixed by the Justices of the Peace—occupiers at £20 a year or under paying 6s., between £20 and £30, 7s. 6d., and so on up to £100 and over paying £1, 7s. 6d.¹ For by-roads, embankments, harbours, etc., tenants had to provide three days' additional labour each year.² An overseer under the factor attended to this business, and saw to it that those liable discharged their obligation, with due consideration for seedtime and harvest. The judgment of experience was: 'The system is a very awkward piece of machinery, and works very badly.'³ The conversion money helped to pay the overseer's wages and the expense of tools. We have seen, too, that fines for breaking estate regulations were levied in work upon the roads. Many bridges were constructed by the Duke on the same terms, but in 1834 there was still no bridge over the Slidderie Water. In 1878 the whole system of statute labour, etc., was abolished, and all highways were placed on the local rates. Bridges are of only a few years ago.

For a brief space the island occupations were diversified by some minor industries, ere yet they concentrated entirely upon agriculture and the entertainment of summer visitors.

¹ *Report as cited*, p. 711.

² *Ibid.*, p. 711; Paterson's *Account*, p. 140.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 712. Evidence of James Paterson, factor for the Duke.

Under the old economy the islanders had to provide themselves with almost all their food and clothing, besides other necessities. By now, however, the number of corn-mills had been reduced to two, one at Brodick and another at Shedag. But wool-carding mills at Brodick and Birican, and a flax-mill also at Lag,¹ provided a great advantage over the old hand methods of preparing the material for the spinner: most of the men's clothing and much of the women's was still spun and woven in the cottages. Naturally the women were the first to show a preference for the daintier stuffs of the mainland. But in time the competition of the great manufacturing centres was bound to close the doors of the humbler and more expensive local establishments, handicapped as these were, too, by difficulties of access. The same thing happened with the distilleries, which the reputation of the old time 'Arran Water,' the whisky of the smuggling days, could not save. In 1834 there was one distillery working at Torlin; two years later it had closed, and the bulk of the barley for this purpose was going to Campbeltown.² A drain-tile manufactory at Clachaig died of insufficient clay and expense of cartage.³ Similar deficiencies killed the manufacture of wooden 'pirns' at 'Pirnmill.'

It is pretty much the same story with the fishing industry, of which the palmy days appear to have been the late forties of last century. In November 1846 the large line fishing on the grounds between Arran and Ayrshire is worthy of newspaper notice, while trawling brought in great hauls of flat fish of the usual varieties—one boat at a single fishing having three tons of turbot, soles, and flounders.⁴ Greenock and Glasgow were the principal markets. In the summer of 1848 white fish are referred to as specially numerous in

¹ Mr. Brown, the factor, specially encouraged the growth of flax, but the enterprise was a failure and was shortly discontinued.

² Teignmouth's *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 395.

³ Reid's *Bute*, p. 142.

⁴ 'Greenock Advertiser' in *Glasgow Herald*, November 16, 1846.

‘Lamlash Loch’; one boat on a Saturday took twenty stones. Lobsters, too, were an Arran product from the rocks of the south end. The herring fishing, however, continued its old primary importance; it fitted in most easily with agricultural requirements. In 1847 Arran had 98 boats devoted to this industry, manned by 380 men: 23 boats belonging to Lamlash, 9 to Brodick, and 8 to Corrie, where in each case there was a makeshift of a pier; 12 in Loch Ranza and 9 in Whiting Bay, neither of which had a pier of any kind; while the remainder were allocated to places on the west coast.¹ Herring catches averaged from 500 to 700 and sometimes double, and they sold in Lamlash at three to four shillings a hundred; the boats of course were not large. Now, save for the herring at Loch Ranza and Pirnmill, the fishing industry is probably smaller than it has ever been.

On the new lines the island agriculture developed fast. The introduction by the Duke and the leading farmers of superior strains of cattle and horses and sheep produced a marked difference for the better on the size and quality of the local breeds, while turnip feeding and sown pastures made all the difference in the world. The smaller tenants, apparently hampered by insufficient capital, and therefore more cautious than speculative, did at first lag behind, but that shortcoming lessened in time. For the encouragement of all concerned, by means of ploughing-matches and premiums for the best specimens of stock, growing crops, gardening, etc., there was founded at Brodick on January 19, 1830, the Arran Farmers’ Society, with the Marquis of Douglas as permanent President, John Fullarton, Esq. of Kilmichael, Vice-President, John Paterson (factor), Secretary, and James Robertson, Clerk and Treasurer; and this Society had soon a considerable list of members of all ranks.

¹ ‘Report on the State of the Harbours in Scotland’ cited in *Ayr Observer*, January 4, 1848.

Statistics of ten years later give the average rent of arable land in Kilbride parish as £1, 5s., in Kilmorie £1 per acre. Farm-servants had £6 to £8 in the half-year, women £2, 10s. to £4. Labourers wages averaged 1s. 6d. a day. Skilled labour, such as that of masons and carpenters, could demand 3s. to 3s. 6d. a day. Tailors had 1s. 6d. with food, while (as a reminiscence of bygone days) weavers earned 6d. per yard for linen, 5d. for yarn, and 4d. for plaiding. Shoemakers—amazing to say—charged but 1s. 3d. with victuals for making a pair of shoes. Reaping in harvest was 10s. an acre, without food.¹

With all this went the necessity for a ready means of marketing produce, and, though the harbours were still miserably deficient, regular steam communication was in operation between the east side and the opposite shore; a steam-packet twice a week to Ardrossan in the winter and spring months, daily in summer, with an additional service from another company from June to September. The south end and west were more indifferently served with the old-time sailing packets, and there were no proper harbours on either coast. There was a packet-boat from South End to Ayr, and another from Blackwater to Campbeltown, each subsidised by the tenantry paying a sum in addition to their rent. These ports, with Saltcoats, were the natural termini as yet for Arran communication.

Then there were the great fairs, at first to be found only at the mainland market-towns, soon, however, instituted in the island itself. The following extracts are worth reproducing in full for their pictorial quality:—

Glasgow Herald, July 9, 1824.

AYR, *July 6.*—Last night a fleet of boats from Arran, equal to the navy of the Sandwich Isles, arrived here, crowded with passengers,

¹ *New Statistical Account.*

potatoes, poultry, pigs, pipers, plaiden, eggs, and yarn, to attend our Midsummer fair, which commences to-day ; and in the hurry and bustle of landing some of the hardy islanders fell into the water, to the great amusement of a vast concourse of people assembled to witness their arrival. Potatoes met with a ready sale at thirteen pence per peck, but the poultry being grass-fed, and the freshness of the eggs being somewhat questionable, buyers were rather shy. Upon the whole, however, the Arranites were well received and nothing disconcerted by the indifference with which their hens and eggs were treated ; they seemed to throw sorrow a day's march behind them. Availing themselves of the luxury of deal floors, the merry dance struck up, at an early hour, in several of their favourite hostelrys.

Glasgow Herald, July 16, 1824.

ARDROSSAN, *July 8*.—At our midsummer fair, which was held on Monday last, there were nearly twelve score of Highland cattle from Arran, Cantyre, and Isla, brought forward, besides a few lots of home bred beasts of the dairy breed. Of the former, several scores were disposed of at what were considered good prices ; and more might have found purchasers, had the holders been inclined to yield anything of their first demands.

Highland cows sold from £4 to £6, stots from £5 to £9, according to their age and quality ; ponies from £10 to £20. A few samples of Arran wool were exposed, but it has not been ascertained whether any sales of that article were effected.

The local fair at Lamrash, ‘ the Kirktoon of Kilbride,’ may be considered as an ancient institution, but it was in the forties no great affair, being at the beginning of winter, with little business to do save in the sale and exchange of horses. The fair at Brodick was of quite recent origin and fixed at a more convenient season, in the beginning of June, so that it did considerable trade in horses, cattle, and wool. A description of 1847 gives us its leading features in what was, no doubt, its high day, and it is amusing to observe the note of kindly patronage which the observer throws into his account : for all its proximity to some of the busiest and most populous

parts of Scotland, Arran's insularity still retained distinctive and strange features.

The fair occupied about a quarter of a mile of the public road, and two open fields or commons close by the sea-side. In these latter were the horses, cattle, and carts of the inhabitants.

The intercourse (in summer daily) with the mainland has greatly worn off the peculiar traits of the Islanders; and every fair they appear less singular, more improved, and better appointed in their turnout than on the previous one. Their simple carts are being superseded by properly constructed vehicles. The rude harness of rope, hair, or rushes, is being replaced with the civilised article. The home-made dress is giving place to more stylish manufactured fabrics.

The refreshment tents were very numerous. Teetotalism also had its representations in coffee tents. Goods stalls were abundant. The crowd of wooden dishes, cogs, and platters exposed for sale, show the prudence of old habits; and that the cleanly earthenware is too costly and breakable to displace the wooden bowl.

There were crowds of gambling stands. Penny reels absorbed much spare cash. The hardy and red-faced mountain nymphs footed it rarely, with stylish partners from the great city of Glasgow.

In the evening the Islanders held their athletic games. There were four steamers with full freights of pleasure seekers from Ayrshire and Glasgow—the most of whom, however, returned in the afternoon before the more boisterous sports commenced.¹

In Kilmore parish there were only horse fairs, one at Lag and two at Shedag in the rich strath of the Blackwater.

II

One of the results of the industrial development of the country, and the consequent expansion of the manufacturing towns, has been a vast concern about one's health and a habit of holidaying in distant places. Steam navigation was to provide the first easy means of satisfying this impulse,

¹ *Ayr Observer*, June 29, 1847.

and the Firth of Clyde was both the cradle of the steamboat and magnificently endowed with health resorts. Arran had already a standing curative reputation, based on its supplies of goat's milk. An uncommon liquid, like an unusual plant or a new mineral, is always exploited by scientific medicine. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century its goats were doing for Arran what a mineral water has done for other places. The *Glasgow Journal* of 12th March 1759 contained this attractive advertisement: 'Good goat milk quarters may be had this season in the island of Arran, in a very commodious slated house, hard by the Castle of Brodick, consisting of three very good rooms above stairs, and two below, with a large kitchen, some bedsteads, chairs and tables. This house will serve two small families, with garden things at hand.' Follows the information as to the Thursday packet-boat from Saltcoats, which has already been quoted.¹

But with the methods of travelling of that period any such trip, either way, was something of an adventure. So long as there were only sailing-boats, wholly dependent on the wind, one had to be prepared for emergencies. A succession of calm days might extend a journey from Brodick to Renfrew for a week, as is still remembered with a shiver. In one of the years just about the time steam was making straight the crooked highways of the wind, a very young lady, now old, left Brodick at 10 A.M. of a December day to go to Glasgow for the New Year. The smack drifted leisurely along under a breath of wind, and by dark was off Saltcoats, where the passengers spent the night on deck. A passenger's herrings and the sailors' potatoes boiled in salt water were the fare on board. Next morning a steamer, toiling up from Ayr, towed them into the Clyde, where another night was passed in a river inn, ere at last Glasgow was reached.

¹ Page 173, note.



BRODICK BAY.

But the close of such adventures was at hand. The river steamers of the Clyde came early among such fleets, and the facilities which this mode of travelling afforded 'of visiting places formerly deemed inaccessible' at once attracted the public. On a day at the close of August 1825 the s.s. *Helensburgh*, with a party consisting of the proprietors and their friends, opened up a remarkable prospect. Leaving Greenock at eight in the morning, it proceeded to Rothesay, thence through the Kyles of Bute to Loch Ranza, round the west and south coasts of Arran, called at Lamlash, Brodick, Millport, Fairley, and Largs, and reached Helensburgh at 9 P.M., doing all this 'in a short space of thirteen hours—through some of the finest scenery in Scotland.'¹

Within a few years Arran had its regular share in a Royal Mail Steam Packet Service, when, as appears from an advertisement of 1829, the *Toward Castle* sailed from Glasgow every Tuesday for Brodick and Lamlash, and the *Inveraray Castle* every Saturday, returning from Arran on Wednesday and Monday morning respectively.

These earlier steamers were owned by individuals or companies, and of the first in use the starting-place was Glasgow. Some did only a summer or irregular trade. From 1832 to 1864 the 'M'Kellar' boats, from the *Hero* and the *Jupiter* to the *Juno*, were familiar on the Arran route. By the sixties, however, the extension of railways to the coast towns was setting up new conditions and limits for the traffic. The steamers, indeed, helped to run the coaches off the road, but in turn the railways soon encroached upon the river steamers, and presently began to add these to their own termini. Ardrossan had always been marked as the natural port of departure for Arran, and in 1860 an Ardrossan company had the *Earl of Arran* constructed for that route. Her commander was a popular Irishman, Captain Blakeney, the only Clyde captain of that nationality. In 1868 the

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, September 5, 1825.

Duke of Hamilton entered the business with the *Lady Mary*; and her success was such that, in two years, a new and faster boat was ordered, the *Lady Mary* being transferred as part payment. But this craft, the *Heather Bell*, was a failure, and in another two years was sold for service in the Bristol Channel, where she may still be. The *Lady Mary* was then chartered for her old service, but the enterprise, for various reasons, had ceased to be a success, and the Ardrossan-Arran traffic passed into the hands of Captain Wm. Buchanan with the *Rothsay Castle*, in charge of Ronald M'Taggart.

A serious drawback to the Arran traffic was the lack of proper piers. At Lamlash passengers and goods alike had to be transferred in small boats, and the place was notorious for its accidents in the drowning of men and animals. For long the policy of the estate had been adverse to any popular exploitation of the island territory. 'It is understood (in 1840) to be the wish of the proprietor, to preserve as much as possible the present character of the parish (Kilbride) as a romantic rural retirement.' This exclusiveness was a matter of complaint in various quarters. Arran as a game preserve was accounted of more value than as a holiday resort, and there was also the sentimental interest. But romance butters no bread, save for the novelists, and more material forces triumphed, though late. The island, however, delayed long behind other such places in being provided with suitable landing accommodation. The earliest pier, at Brodick, was not erected till 1872, and the latest, that at Whiting Bay, was finished only in 1901.¹

In the late seventies the Buchanan steamer the *Scotia* succeeded the *Brodick Castle* on the Ardrossan-Arran route, but thereafter passed into the hands of the Glasgow and South-Western Railway Company, the various amalgamated railway concerns being now active in this field. Her successor was the *Glen Sannox*. But in 1890 the Caledonian

¹ *The Clyde Passenger Steamer*, p. 78.

Steam Packet Company invaded this preserve, and with the *Duchess of Hamilton* doubled the Arran trade in ten years.¹ Much of this was due to an increase of traffic from the south end of the island, and, as the result of action by the inhabitants of Whiting Bay, the *Duchess of Hamilton* began sailings direct to that port from Ardrossan. The suggestion of the Whiting Bay people had been that the companies should divide the ports, but as neither would abandon Brodick, the result was that the rival company followed to Whiting Bay. A pronounced local preference for the first comer made the rival service a failure, and it had to be withdrawn. In the end the competition of these lines has led to an amalgamation of their steamer services. The Glasgow and South Western new steamer, the *Glen Sannox*, had a notably skilful captain in Colin M'Gregor, a native of Shisken, who died in 1901. Meantime the last ostensible restriction on Arran development on this line, the narrow grounds to which feuing facilities were confined, has been removed by the throwing open of the island to such investment (1913). The results of this step must be waited for.

III

Reference has been made to the difference of opinion as to the degrees of piety credited, at particular periods, to the Arran people ; but to the layman observer their disposition of recent times has always seemed strongly religious.² At the present moment the island is indulged with three varieties of Presbyterian ecclesiasticism, besides the Sannox remnant who continue the local Congregationalism. A number of Western Highland and Island parishes can exceed the Presbyterian figure, for the Free Presbyterian secession of 1893 did not affect Arran, and owns no representatives there.

The course of things at the Disruption of 1843 is signifi-

¹ *The Clyde Passenger Steamer*, p. 218.

² Cf. Lord Teignmouth (as cited), vol. ii. pp. 396-7.

cant in its own way. The principal church in Kilbride parish was that at Lamblash, the old ecclesiastical centre, but we have seen the erection of a chapel-of-ease, afterwards constituting a *quoad sacra* parish congregation, at Brodick in 1839.¹ Patronage was the root of the trouble which eventuated in the disruption of the Church of Scotland, but a broader issue was raised in the theory of the relations of Church and State as laid down by the law-courts. There was grave difference over rights of jurisdiction.

When the division came the Rev. Dr. M'Naughton, minister of Kilbride, remained in the Establishment and retained with him the congregation of Lamblash, which thus to-day is still the strongest body in the island adhering to the Church of Scotland. On the other hand, Brodick and Whiting Bay followed the Church of Scotland Free.

In Kilmore the Free Church carried the congregations out like a flood ; and, besides the mother church, there was the mission at Loch Ranza, while the old preaching-house at Clachan had been succeeded in 1805 by a kirk built by the parishioners. The secession was preponderant. To this triumph of the Evangelical party the memory and influence of the revival times no doubt directly contributed ; while children of that experience, and natives of Kilmore, like the Revs. Archibald and Finlay Cook and Rev. John M'Master, all then Highland ministers, by attaching themselves to the Free Church, must have similarly directed the minds of compatriots. But no less efficacious would be the recollection of Kilmore's own experience of patronage, when the estimable Mr. Crawford was intruded upon an unwilling parish. Therefore the Disruption emptied all three churches. Not till a few days after the event did the news of what had happened in Edinburgh reach the western parish, when the

¹ Brodick was erected into a separate parish in 1864, when an endowment was provided by joint contributions from the Duke of Hamilton and the Church of Scotland Endowment Committee.

Rev. Angus M'Millan ('Maighisteir Aonghus') preached his last sermon from the old pulpit on the text: 'And she named the child I-chabod, saying, The glory is departed from Israel.' Provision was made for the self-displaced congregation on the farm of Clachaig.¹

Indeed, Arran was free from the difficulties about finding sites for new churches and manses, such as made things uncomfortable for some time in other parts of the country. The chapel at Brodick continued in occupation by the old congregation until the death of their new minister Mr. M'Alister in December 1844, when the Duke of Hamilton found them quarters at an old saw-pit near the Castle. But, Mr. M'Millan dying in the year of the Disruption and Mr. M'Alister the year after, the Free Church congregation had to make shift for a space without the services of an ordained clergyman.

We taste something of the bitterness of the time in the fact that in May 1848, at a Sacramental Fast of the Established Church in Shisken, it was hailed 'as a pleasing proof of the better feeling now prevailing that many of those belonging to the Free Church attended, and obligingly lent us their tent for the occasion.'²

Of the Free Church clergymen of the island, the most distinguished has been the Rev. Alexander Cameron, LL.D., of Brodick, conspicuous in the field of Celtic scholarship, whose work has been collected in two volumes under the title *Reliquae Celticae*. His last days, before his death in 1888, were clouded by a quarrel with the Church Courts regarding an iron church which Dr. Cameron had erected at Lamplash, when it was proposed to establish a regular mission in that place. This church he intended for the use of those members of his congregation who preferred retaining their previous connection with Brodick. The con-

¹ *The Church in Arran*, by Rev. J. Kennedy Cameron, M.A., p. 114.

² *Ayr Observer*, May 16, 1848.

demnation of the Assembly he met by offering to transfer the iron church, if his financial obligations in connection with it were also taken over, which offer was refused. After his death the Duke made it a condition of granting a site for a permanent church that Dr. Cameron's representatives should be relieved of the expense to which he had gone in erecting the previous one, and an arbitration fixed this at two-thirds of the original cost.¹

In 1900 the Free Church itself suffered a minor but serious disruption. After a term of negotiations a formal union was constituted with the United Presbyterian Church, the bodies thus joined bearing the common title of the United Free Church of Scotland. But one main principle of the U.P. communion was that State establishment was unscriptural or unwarranted, while the Free Church had originally upheld the lawfulness of Establishment on her own lines. The growing unlikelihood of this concession, with nearly sixty years of existence on a basis of voluntary support, had weakened the acceptance of the Establishment principle, and, on this ground of union with a 'voluntary' Church repudiating Establishment, as well as on some theological differences, the minority claimed to continue the original denomination with all the rights of property. The Court of Session gave decisions in favour of the majority, but appeal to the House of Lords brought a majority verdict in favour of the objectors, that Court treating the Church as a 'trust' formed at a particular time for particular purposes. This decision transferred the property of the old Free Church to the minority, but an Act of Parliament passed in 1905, and a Royal Commission following on it, carried out a distribution of goods between the contending claimants. Only in Lamlash did the United Free Church retain the Arran buildings, and thus seven new churches had to be erected in the island to supply the displaced supporters of the Union.

¹ *The Church in Arran*, p. 141.

The most important event of recent years in Arran history has been the appearance in the island of the new Land Court and their decisions of reduced rents for the small tenantry ; but some of these decisions are still the subject of judicial process. The great crises of Highland agriculture, of earlier date, had not the same results in Arran as elsewhere. The famine of 1846, consequent on the failure of the potato crop, does not seem to have affected the island to an extent comparable with its effects in other parts of Scotland. Such as it was, however, it induced the Duke of the time to give liberal abatements of rent for that year, extending to upwards of thirty per cent. on the average.¹ But twenty years later there was an all round increase, and so also on two subsequent occasions. The Crofters Commission of 1883 and the Act of 1885 did not comprehend Arran as a crofting district, though 281 tenants petitioned Parliament for its inclusion. A new spirit, too, had arisen regarding game. In 1834 Mr. Paterson, the factor, notes that there was still a considerable number of survivors of the ancient red deer 'in the northern part of the island.' Further, 'A small kind of deer from America, of which a pair was introduced several years ago in the woods of Arran Castle, has thriven so well, that there are now more than thirty individuals grazing at large.' In fact, deer introduced from America flourished as well in Arran as Arran people did when exported to America. Even then, too, black and red grouse were very abundant : 'the former so much so as to be very destructive to the corn crops.' Pheasants had been introduced a few years before, and abounded in the Brodick district. These conditions have intensified since Paterson's day, and the destructiveness of game was one of the complaints before the Land Court. Compensation in such cases is rarely satisfactory to both sides. But the central point there raised awaits final decision, while illuminating one of

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, March 12, 1847.

the chief economic supports of the smaller Arran tenantry: Is revenue from summer visitors for house accommodation on a farm to be taken into account in fixing its rent? With this query, and with another query dependent on it—How will free feuing affect the future of the island? the present record must close.

Only this it is perhaps safe to say. There is no prospect that the grimy fingers of industrialism will ever fasten on the island. Gold or silver it has none to speak of; and it will be a hard necessity that will ever find its coal profitable. But the Highlander instinctively grips to the soil as a home, a sentiment overlooked by the calculator; and city populations, once in a while, must again touch the unpaved earth or the unbuilt ocean. Arran has field and mountain and sea, and on their lap, for much time to come, its destiny must lie.

CHAPTER XII

FOLK LORE

Ossianic legends—fairy tales—tales of monsters—foretellings and signs—the Evil-eye—witchcraft—cures—social customs.

EARNEST minds have long been devoted to discrediting and discouraging the age-old beliefs and magical customs of the folk, and in this work the enlightenment of modern education has powerfully helped. Thus tales and practices hoary in their antiquity, but singularly tenacious in simple minds, are fast fading into oblivion. Just as rapidly, however, these relics of a former faith have won the scientific and artistic interest of those to whom nothing of human origin is without value, in so far as it reveals the human mind at its work of explaining things or adapting itself to forces mysterious or misunderstood or beyond its control.

In recording such material, the first concern is to present it without amplification or mere literary dressing; and in the present case, apart from what has been found to be mechanically necessary, this course has been adopted and contributions set down in the actual form and language of the narrator. For convenience the matter has been arranged in certain main groups.

I

The little that Arran has to offer as a contribution to the Finn saga has been given in the first chapter. The floating stuff still in existence belongs to a very late stage in the history of the legend, when the vague memories of gigantic figures are used to account for what is at once great

and unknown, burial-cairns for example, circles of standing stones, duns, and such like. Ossian's Mound at Clachaig, reputed the burial-place of that poet, son of Finn, has proved to be part natural hillock, part burial-mound.¹ The great cave at Drumadoon, now called the King's Cave,² once bore the name of 'Fingal's Cave,' and was reputed a residence of Finn and the Féinne when hunting in Arran.³ Here—runs the tale—a son was born to him, and a groove in the side of the cave is alleged to mark the length of the infant's foot the day after he was born. The groove is more than two feet long. From this Mr. Headrick calculates that the child must have then been twelve feet high, and his parents of a height sufficient to make even that large cave a somewhat narrow dwelling. From this place, too, Finn is declared to have formed a bridge or set of stepping-stones across to Kintyre.⁴ On Machrie moor is a circle of stones known as *Fingal's Cauldron Seat*,⁵ the rest for his cooking-pot, an identification which is known also in the west of Lewis.

Nothing is gained by recapitulating such fancies, for folk-fancies only they are, belonging to a depraved stage of the Finn legends, of which similar examples are to be found elsewhere. Something huge is credited to a 'giant' to begin with, and the giant in time becomes one of the Féinne : such appears to be the logic at work.

A particular presentation of some of these stories runs as follows :—

In bygone days it is said a battle had been fought near Slidderie Water between Fionn's forces and some others. A great many were slain and buried near the field of slaughter.

This had become a dreaded place by the natives, as it was said to be haunted, owing to the ground having been tilled, which disturbed the rest of these dead warriors.

¹ See vol. i. pp. 101-2.

³ See citation in vol. i. p. 218.

⁵ Vol. i. p. 118.

² Cf. p. 113.

⁴ Headrick, pp. 160-1.

The shades of the dead that traversed these quiet regions in the lone hours of night were awesome in the extreme, and had evidently been visible not only to persons but also to animals; and the following instance is related.

A certain man had been on the road with his horse and cart, when without warning the horse stood still and would proceed no farther. His ears stood up, while he snorted and was sweating from evident fear. The reason of this soon became known, for there rose before the man's vision like as it were a small cloud or mist, which grew larger and larger till it became a great size, but it was not only a cloud; whether in it or of it the cloud had taken an uncanny form of a wraith.

This man had met this unwelcome thing more than once.

A wholly irresponsible contribution to this section may here find a place. It is from a satirical poem against Highlanders, published in London in 1681, and tells how 'Finmacowel' chased a herd of deer from Lewis:

He chased them so furiouslie,
That they were forced to take the sea,
And swam from Cowel into Arran,
In which soil, though it be but barren,
As learned antiquaries say,
Their offspring lives unto this day.¹

In the following custom we have the survival of an old harvest rite, reaching back to the very beginning of agricultural work:

A' CHAILLEACH—THE OLD WOMAN

At the end of harvest, when all the corn was cut except the last 'wee pickle,' the glad shearers gathered round to cut the 'cailleach,' the name by which the last few standing stalks were known. Some one, generally an old man, was chosen to tie the heads of this bunch of stalks together. Then each was blindfolded, given a sickle, and got his chance to cut the 'cailleach.' Some one would succeed at last,

¹ Colville's 'Whigg's Supplication,' cited in Campbell's *Popular Tales*, iv. p. 75.

and all would be pleased that the harvest was finished. Some of the men would take the 'cailleach' home and hang it up in the kitchen, where I suppose it had to stay till the spring cleaning. If a hare or a rabbit, or a rat or a mouse, or any animal indeed jumped, last of all, just before the last straw of the corn was cut, I have often heard them shouting, 'There's the Cailleach!' meaning that the 'cailleach' was escaping as a hare or in a hare or mouse, or whatever bird or beast it was.

Clearly, as the last item drives home, the final sheaf symbolises the corn-spirit, the origin of growth and reproduction. In other parts of the Highlands the keeping of the old woman was avoided as far as possible. In some parts of Germany the last sheaf is made up in the form of a hare or such animal; in other parts, as also in England, Scotland, and the east of Europe, in the form of a man or woman; whence in England we have its name as the 'kern (corn) baby' or 'the maiden,' in the Highlands also as the 'harvest-maiden' (*maighdean bhuan*),¹ and in Germany as the 'corn-mother,' etc. An Arab custom is to bury ceremonially a final sheaf of wheat with the words, 'The old man is dead.'² The keeping of the 'cailleach' probably meant its use at the spring festival, at which time, in central Europe, it is the practice to carry out a straw puppet and burn it or throw it into a river, as the ceremony of 'carrying out the death.' The dressing up of a sheaf of oats, in the island of Colonsay on February 2, is held by Martin to symbolise 'Bride,' the goddess.³

II

The stories about fairies also seem to be based ultimately upon the mystery of life and death, particularly the latter; fairies, as certain of the tales to follow plainly indicate, being spirits of the dead, an idea distorted throughout the

¹ Campbell's *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 20.

² Fraser's *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, p. 298. Cf. also *Spirits of the Corn, etc.*, i. p. 204 ff.

³ Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 119; cf. p. 77.

Highlands, under Christian influences, to the conception of 'fallen angels' who were shut out from heaven and did not enter hell. The English poet Chaucer fairly equates the Fairy Queen with Proserpine, Queen of the Dead, mistress of the otherworld. King Arthur, and others of note, did not die; they were carried away to the fairy kingdom.¹ Birth and death were equally mysterious to the primitive mind: hence a world-wide similarity in the strange tales woven around the two most familiar phenomena of human life, the puzzled human mind everywhere reasoning on similar lines.

Other phenomena, physical in character or external to the people's own lives, find explanation in the invention of giants or monsters of various kinds and tempers. It is the same sort of reasoning as we find in much later times describing great works of unknown origin, such as cairns and standing-stones, as the production of gigantic personages. A few of these tales form the second class of those here given.

A. FAIRIES

AM FIGHEADAIR CROTACH

Bho chionn fada nan cian bha figheadair beag, crotach a' còmh-nuidh an Loch-Raonasa. Latha 's e 'dol do'n bheinn a bhuain rainich, thainig e gu h-obann air buidheann shithichean 'us iad mu theinn a' damhsadh ann an lagan uaine, grianach, uaigneach. Làn neònachais laigh e sìos aig cùl gàraidh-balla a chum 's gu'm

¹ Cf. 'There be many places called Fairie-hills, which the Mountain People think impious and dangerous to peel and discover, by taking earth or wood from them; superstitiously believing the souls of their predecessors to dwell there' (Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth of Elves and Fairies* (1691), ed. 1893, p. 23).

'Bot, sen my spreit mon fra my body go,
I recommend it to the Queue of Farye,
Eternallye in tyll hir court to carye.'

Sir D. Lyndsay's *Testament of the Papyngo*.

There are, of course, other explanations current as to the origin of the fairy faith.

faicceadh e iad ri'n cleasachd. Bu lùghmhor 's bu sgiobalt iad air an damhsadh, agus b' e am port-a-beul a bh' aca 'Di-Luain, 's Di-Màirt, Di-Luain 's Di-Màirt.' Cha b' fhada gus an d' fhàs e sgìth de 'n phort ghoirid so agus leum e gu 'chasan 'us ghlaodh e mach 's Di-ciadain.'

Air faicinn duine an dlùths dhaibh, chlisg na daoine beaga, ach cha do chuir sin stad air an àbhacas ; lean iad air damhsadh ris a' phort, 'Di-Luain, Di-Màirt, s' Di-ciadain,' agus chunnaic iad gu'm b'fh-eairrd am port an car a chuir am figheadair ann. Chum an taingeachd a nochdadh dha, thug iad a' chroit bharr a dhroma 's chuir iad air mullach a' gharaidh-balla i. Chaidh am figheadair dhachaidh gu suigeartach cho aotrom ri iteig 's cho dìreach ri ràite. Thuit gu'n robh figheadair crotach eile a' còmhnuidh an Loch-Raonasa aig a' cheart àm so, agus air dha chluinntinn mar fhuair a choimhearsnach rèidh de 'chroit, chuir e roimhe gu'm feuchadh esan an seòl ceudna chum faotainn rèidh de 'chroit fhéin. Suas gabhar e thun na beinne far an robh na sithichean, agus fhuair e iad an sin a' damhsadh cho lùghmhor 's a bha iad riamh. Dh' éisd e riu car tiotan, agus an sin ghlaodh e mach 'Di-Luain, Di-Màirt, Di-ciadain, Di-'r-daoine, Di-h-aoine, Di-Sathuirne ' ; ach an àite gleus a b'fhearr chur air a' phort, 's ann a mhill e'muigh 's a mach e. Bha na daoine beaga cho diombach dheth airson a' phuirt a mhilleadh, 's gu'n do thog iad croit an fhir eile bhàrr a' ghàraidh, agus spàrr iad an darna croit air muin na croit' eile 's chuir iad dhachaidh e da uair na bu chrotaiche na bha e roimhe.

THE HUNCHBACKED WEAVER

Ages long ago there was a hunchbacked weaver dwelling in Loch Ranza. One day as he was going to the hill to cut brackens, he suddenly came upon a band of fairies as they were actively engaged at dancing in a green, sunny, secluded hollow. Full of curiosity he lay down at the back of a turf dyke in order to observe their antics. Active and nimble were they at the dancing, and the tune they had was 'Monday, Tuesday ; Monday Tuesday.' He soon got tired of this short tune, and he jumped to his feet, and shouted out 'and Wednesday.'

On seeing a man near them, the little folk started, but that did

not put a stop to their diversion ; they continued dancing to the tune 'Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday,' and conceived that the tune was the better of the turn the weaver put in it. In order to show him their gratitude, they took the hump off his back and placed it on the top of the turf dyke. The weaver went home rejoicing, light as a feather and straight as a ramrod. It happened that another diminutive hunchbacked weaver resided at Loch Ranza at the very same time, and on hearing how his neighbour got rid of his hump, he determined that he would try the same plan in order to get rid of his own hump. Up he goes to the hill where the fairies were, and he found them there dancing as lively as ever. He listened for a short time, and then shouted out, 'Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday' ; but instead of improving on the tune, he spoiled it out and out. The little folk were so displeased at him for spoiling the tune, that they lifted the other man's hump off the dyke and placed a second hump on the top of the other, and sent him home twice as hunched as he was before.

[Told of fairies in Scotland and Ireland, of pixies in Cornwall, of corrigans in Brittany. In a Japanese version the affliction is not a hump but a wen on the forehead. In all cases the essential idea is the same.]

NA SITHICHEAN—CLAOINEAD

Bha tuathanach d'am b'ainm MacCùca aon uair a' còmhnuidh ann an Claoinead. Thug a bhean leanabh thun an t-saoghail, agus bha na h-ingheanan 's a' choimhearsnachd, mar bu ghnàth, a' faire ré na h-oidhche a' frithealadh do'n leanabh 's d'a mhàthair. Aon oidhche chualas ùpraid uamhasach anns a' bhàthaich, mar gu 'm biodh an crodh 'gan gaorradh gu bàs. Leum an luchd-faire gu'n casan agus chaidh iad do'n bhàthaich a dh'fhaicinn dé b'aobhar de'n t-straightlich. Cha robh nì cearr ri fhaicinn, bha an crodh gu sàmhach, foisneach 'nan laighe a' cnàmh an cìr. Nuair a thill iad air an ais cha robh sealladh de bhean-an-taighe ri fhaicinn—chaidh i as an t-sealladh gu buileach, agus a réir coslais, air a toirt air falbh le na daoine beaga. Bha am fear aice gu tùrsach a' caoidh call a mhnatha, agus air dha aon latha a bhi 'g obair aig beul abhainn na Slaodraich, chunnaic e sgaoth de na daoine beaga a' dol thar a

chinn, agus thilg e an corran-buana 'bha 'na laimh 'nam measg. Cha luaithe rinn e sin na co bha 'na seàsamh 'na làthair ach a bhean fhéin. Gàirdeach 's mar bha iad a' chéile choinneachadh a rithist, thuirt i ris : ' Fhir mo ghràidh, cha 'n 'eil e 'n comas dhomh a dhol leat, ach ma dh'fhàgas thu dorus beulaobh agus dorus cùil au taighe fosgailte air oidhche àraidh, theid mi-fhéin agus cuideachd de na daoine beaga a steach eadar an da dhorus. Bi thusa 'nad shuidhe a' feitheamh, agus nuair a chi thu 'n cothrom tilgidh tu mo chleòca-pòsda tharam, agus aisigear mise dhuit.

Bha gach nì mar a thubhairteadh, ach nuair a thàinig a bhean 'na shealladh cha robh de mhisnich aig an duine bhochd na thilgeadh an cleòca thairte. Bha i 'smèideadh gu teann, dùrachdach ris, ach air do na daoine beaga thuigsinn ciod a bu rùn di, spiol iad a' bhean bhochd air falbh, a dh'aindeoin gach oidheirp a rinn i a saorsa' fhao-tainn, agus cha 'n fhacas riamh tuilleadh i. Anns a' chòmhradh a bh' aice r' a fear dh'innis i dhà gu'n robh na Sithichean math dhi, agus nuair a bhiodh e 'sguabadh na h-àtha, gun a sguabadh tur glan, ach beagan ghràinean fhagail a bhiodh aca gu itheadh

THE FAIRIES OF CLAOINEAD

A farmer of the name of Cook resided at one time at Claoinead. His wife gave birth to a child, and the neighbouring maidens, as was the custom, sat up at night and attended to the child and its mother. One night a terrible uproar was heard in the byre, as if the cattle were being gored to death. The attendants jumped to their feet and went to the byre to see what was the cause of the noise. There was nothing wrong to be seen, the cattle were quietly and peacefully lying chewing their cud. When they went back, the housewife was nowhere to be seen—she had totally disappeared, and to all appearance was taken away by the little folk.

Her husband was sorely lamenting the loss of his wife, and one day as he was working at the mouth of Sliderry burn, he saw a multitude of the little folk going over his head, and he threw the reaping-hook, which he had in his hand, in their midst. No sooner had he done so than who was standing in his presence but his own wife. Glad as they were to have met each other again she said to him : ' My dear husband, it is not in my power to go with you, but

if you leave the front door and back door of the house open on a certain night, I and a company of the little folk will enter between the two doors. Be you sitting waiting, and when you see an opportunity you will throw my wedding-cloak over me, and I shall be restored to you.'

Everything happened as was said, but when his wife had come in sight, the poor man had not so much courage as to throw the cloak over her. She earnestly made signs to him, but the little folk, perceiving her intention, snatched the poor woman away in spite of her efforts to get her freedom, and she was never seen more. In the conversation she had with her husband, she told him that the fairies were good to her, and when he would be sweeping the kiln not to sweep it altogether clean, but to leave some grains that they would have to eat.

[The power of the reaping-hook is in its metal. Cold iron is the master of these beings. In the ballad of the *Young Tamlane* the lady secures her changing lover, after many transformations, by casting her green mantle over him. Women in childbed were particularly open to fairy interference.]

SITHICHEAN DHRUIM-A-GHINEIR

Bho chionn fada bha buidheann shithichean a' còmhnuidh ann an Cnoc 'ic Eòghain an Druim-a-ghineir. Bha iad fhéin agus tuathanach àraidh do'm b'ainm Macmhurchaidh anabarrach càirdeil mu chéile. Bhiodh esan a' dol gu tric air chéilidh leò, ach bha e daonnan a' deanamh brath-ghabhail gu'n sàthadh e sgian, no snàthad-mhór, no crioman iarunn de'n t-seòrsa sin, am bràigh an doruis aca a chum an rathaid a bhi réidh dha gu teachd a mach. Oidhche de na h-oidhchean a chaidh e' choimhead orra, fhuair e iad uile cruinn air mullach a' chnocain mu theinn ag ullachadh airson turuis éiginn. Spion gach aon diùbh geodhasdan, agus air dhaibh facail dhiomhair aithris, chaidh iad casan-gòbhlach air a' gheodhasdan, agus an àird gabhar iad anns an adhar cho aotrom ri iteig. Rinn Macmhurchaidh an nì ceudna, spion esan geodhasdan, chaidh e casan-gòbhlach air, agus ag aithris nam briathran-sithe suas gabhar e as an déidh cho luath 's cho aotrom ri h-aon diubh fhéin. Stiùir iad an cùrsa nunn thar Maol Chinntìre, an rathad a bu ghiorra gu Eirinn. Ann an ùine ghoirid fhuair Macmhurchaidh e fhéin ann an

cidsin tuathanaich an Eirinn far an robh bean-an-taighe 'na laighe ri uchd a' bhàis, agus gach sean chailleach 's an àite a' frithealadh dhi. Ann am priobadh na sùla spìol na sìthichean a' bhean bhochd air falbh, agus dh'fhàg iad 'na h-àite ploc fiodha an cruth na mnatha. An sin thog iad orra thun an dachaidh air a' cheart dòigh anns an d'fhàg iad, 'us Macmhurchaidh agus bean an tuathanaich 'nan cuideachd. Nuair a ràinig iad an cnocan-sithe an Druim-a-ghineir, thug iad a' bhean do Macmhurchaidh airson gu'n deachaidh e leotha do dh'Eirinn, 'us dh'fhan i leis mar a bhean-phòsda.

Seachd bliadhna an déidh so, air feasgar blàth samhraidh thàinig déirceach bochd Eirionnach an rathad agus air dha bhi sgith, shuidh e air a' chloich-chnotaidh¹ ri taobh dorus Mhicmhurchaidh. Bha bean-an-taighe a' bleoghan nam bó agus gach uair a rachadh i seachad eadar a' bhàthaich 's an taigh-bainne, theireadh an déirceach: 'Ma tà, mur bitheadh gu'n do chuir mi mo bhean le mo dhà làimh fhéin anns a' chiste-mhairbh mhionnaichinn gu 'm bu tusa i.' B'e deireadh an sgeòil gu'n d'fhalbh a' bhean leis an déirceach Eirionnach—a fear-pòsda dligheach.

THE FAIRIES

A long time ago a band of fairies had their abode in Cnoc 'ic Eoghain in Druimaghineir. They and a certain farmer named MacMurchie were very friendly with each other. He would often be going to visit them, but always took the precaution to thrust a knife, a darning-needle or a piece of iron of that kind above the door so as to keep the way clear for him to come out. One of the nights on which he went to visit them, he found them all assembled on the top of the hillock, busily preparing for some journey. Each one of them pulled a ragwort, and having repeated some mystic words they went astride the ragwort, and up they went into the air as light as a feather. MacMurchie did the same thing, he pulled a ragwort, went astride on it, and having repeated the fairy words up he goes after them as swiftly and lightly as any of themselves. They directed their course over beyond the Mull of Kintyre by the shortest route to Ireland. In a short time MacMurchie found himself

¹ Also called 'clach-chnocaidh' locally.

in the kitchen of a farmer in Ireland, where the housewife was bedfast and at the bosom of death, and every old woman in the place attending her. In the twinkling of an eye the fairies snatched the poor woman away, and left in her place a log of wood of the appearance of the woman. They then betook themselves home in the same manner as they left, with MacMurchie and the farmer's wife in their company. When they reached the fairy mound in Drumaghineir, they bestowed the woman on MacMurchie because he accompanied them to Ireland, and she remained with him as his wife.

Seven years after this, on a warm summer evening, an Irish beggar came the way, and being tired, he sat down on the husking-stone¹ at the side of MacMurchie's door. The housewife was milking the cows, and every time she passed between the byre and milkhouse the beggar would say: 'Well, if I had not placed my wife with my own two hands in the coffin, I would swear that thou art she.' The end of the story was that the woman departed with the Irish beggar—her lawful husband.

A' BHEAN-GHLUIN AGUS NA SIBHRICH ²

Bho chionn fada roimhe so, bha seana chailleach a' còmhnuidh ann am Baile-mhìcheil a bhiodh ri banachas-ghlùin. Air latha àraidh 's i' buain le h-aon de na coimhearsnaich, dé thàinig trasd uirre ach losgann mòr, grannda 's i trom le losgann òga. 'Tha mi 'guidhe 's ag aslachadh ort,' ars a' chailleach, 's i 'cur an losgann a thaobh le bàrr a' chorrain ghobhlaich, 'nach dealaich thu ri do luchd gus am bi modhà làimh-se timchioll³ ort.' Cha robh tuilleadh air aig an àm, ach oidhche no dhà an déidh sin, có thàinig thun an doruis aice ach gille air muin eich 'na dheannaibh, agus e 'glaothaich uirre i 'dh' éirigh gu luath, luath, a' dheanadh cuideachaidh 'us cobhair air mnaoi a bha 's a' ghlaodhaich.⁴ Ghreas i uirre, 'us chaidh i air muin an eich aig cùlthaobh a' ghille, ach an àite crùn an rathaid a ghleidheadh 's ann a ghabh e a muigh 's a mach rathad cùil Aird-bheinn. 'C'àite fo chromadh nan speur,' ars' a' chailleach, 'am

¹ Hollowed stone into which grain was put and beaten until freed from the husks.

² Locally pronounced 'sibhrich,' the *ch* being silent after *i*.

³ Pronounced *tiomall* locally.

⁴ 'na laidhe-shiùbhla, in childbed ('s a' ghlaodhaich, literally in the crying).

bheil an aire dhuit dol, no cia fhada tha romhad ? ' 'Se luaths do theangaidh,' ars an gille, 'a ghluais do chasan an nochd, chuir thu ban-rìgh nan sibhreach beaga fo gheasaibh 's i an riochd losgainn, 's cha 'n fhaigh i fòir no fuasgladh gus am bi do dhà làimh timchioll uirre, ach air an anam a tha 'nn do chorp feuch nach gabh thu biadh no deoch no tuarasdal, air neo bithidh thu mar tha mise, fo shileadh nan lòchran, gun chomas tillidh gu taigh no teaghlach.'

Ràinig iad uamh Aird-bheinn, agus chaidh iad a steach do sheòmar cho breagh, 's nach fhaichte a leithid 's an domhan. Bha Ban-rìgh nan Sibhreach air leabaidh, 'us mòran de na sibhrich bheaga a' feitheamh 's a' freasdal uirre. Rinn a' chailleach gach nì a bha feumail, 's cha robh fada gus an do rugadh mac mòr, meamnach, Nuair a bha 'n leanabh glan, sgeadaichte, thug iad sàbh do'n bhean-ghlùin a dh-ungadh a shùilean, chum 's gu faigheadh e sealladh an dà shaoghail. Ach thuit gu'n do thachais a' chailleach a mala 's an sàbh air a meuran, 's cha luaithe a thachais na fhuair i sealladh an dà shaoghail 'n a leth-shuil; agus a nis an seòmar a chitheadh i cho breagh leis an darna sùil, chitheadh i leis an t-sùil eile e 'na tholl dorchà làn neadoch an damhan-alluidh. O'n a bha a h-uile nì deas, cha robh ach biadh 'us deoch a chur air a beulaobh, ach dhiùlt i muigh 's a mach e. B'eiginn leotha 'n sin gu'n gabhadh i pàigheadh airson a saothrach, agus thairig iad dhi làn an dùirn de'n òr; ach an t-òr a bha cho buidhe, bòidheach do'n darna sùil, cha robh air ach coslas innearach do 'n t-sùil eile, agus cha ghabhadh i dubh no dath¹ dheth. O'n a chunnaic² na sibhrich nach robh math dhaibh a bhi rithe chum iad i air druim an eich, agus an sin dh'aithnich i an gille gu'm b'e mac coimhearsnaich a bh'ann a ghoideadh le na sibhrich, agus dùil aig a mhuinntir gu'n do shiubhail e. Ràinig a' chailleach a bothan fhéin mu ghoir a' choilich, 's cha luaithe a ghlaodh e na chaidh an gille 's an t-each as an t-sealladh, agus cha 'n fhaca i iad gu bràth tuilleadh.

THE MIDWIFE AND THE FAIRIES

Long before now an old woman dwelt in Balmichael who practised midwifery. On a certain day as she was reaping with one of the

¹ *dubh no dath*; meaning, in any form or colour = an absolute refusal.

² Locally the final *c* is not pronounced.

neighbours, what came across her but a big, ugly frog, heavy with young. 'I pray and beseech you,' said the old wife, as she put the frog aside with the point of the sickle, 'that you will not part with your burden until my two hands be about you.' There was nothing further at the time, but a night or two thereafter who should come to her door but a youth on the back of a horse in hot haste, and calling to her to arise quickly to give assistance and succour to a woman in childbed. She hastened and mounted the horse at the back of the youth, but instead of keeping to the crown of the road, he kept out and out by way of Aird-bheinn. 'Where, under the bend of the sky,' said the old wife, 'do you mean to go, or what distance is before you?' 'It is the quickness of your tongue that moved your feet to-night; you put the queen of the fairies under a spell and she was in the form of a frog, and she will get neither help nor deliverance until your two hands be about her, but on the soul in your body see that you take neither food nor drink nor hire, or else you will be as I am, under the dripping of the torches, without the power to return to house or family.'

They reached the cave of Aird-bheinn, and they entered a room so grand that the like could not be seen on earth. The queen of the fairies was in bed, and many of the little fairies waiting and serving her. The old wife did all that was necessary, and it was not long until a big, strong son was born. When the infant was washed and clothed they gave an ointment to the midwife to anoint his eyes so that he would get the view of the two worlds. But it happened that the old wife scratched her eyebrow, with the ointment on her fingers, and no sooner had she done so than she got a sight of the two worlds with her one eye; and now, the room which she would see so grand with the one eye, she would see it with the other eye a dark hole full of cobwebs. Since everything was in readiness, food and drink were set before her, but she refused it out and out. They must needs, then, that she would accept a hire for her labour, and they offered her a handful of gold; but the gold that was so yellow and beautiful to the one eye, it was but like dung to the other, and she would not take it at all. When the fairies saw they could not prevail on her, they set her on the horse's back, and it was then she knew the youth—that he was the son of a neighbour who was stolen by the fairies, and his people thinking he had died. The old wife

reached her own home about the cock-crowing, and no sooner had the cock crowed than the youth and horse disappeared, and she saw them no more.

[A widespread story common in Wales, Ireland, Man, Cornwall, and Brittany. Usually the eye anointed with the salve is blinded afterwards by a fairy, who by this means has been recognised. In such a case it is the fairy midwife who attends a mortal, when the husband thus accidentally acquires the fairy vision and suffers blinding.]

AN TUATHANACH AGUS NA SIBHRICH ¹

Air do thuathanach àiridh aig an robh gabhail-fearainn anns an eilean so anns na làithean a tha seachad, a bhi aon latha an toiseach an Earraich anns an achadh a leantuinn nan each anns a' chrann-treabhaidh,² bhuail mar bu tric an t-acras e. Ars esan ris fhéin, 'Na 'n robh agam ach greim arain, chumadh e suas mi gu àm an trathnòin.' Air dha teachd gu ceann-iomaire an achaidh, mhothaich e fàile taitneach a chuir barrachd geurachaidh air a chàil—fàile bonnach air ùr dheasachadh.³ Ars esan, 'Bu mhath leam crioman de'n bhonnach sin itheadh,' agus lean e air aghaidh aig cùl nan each anns a' chrann gus an do thill e rithist gu ceann an iomaire; agus de chunnaic e ach bonnach air ùr dheasachadh na laighe air an làr fa chomhair. Chuir so ioghnadh air, ach thog e 'us dh'ith e am bonnach, agus bonnach a bu mhillse cha d'ith e riamh. 'Gu dearbh,' ars esan. 'Bu mhath leam bolla de 'n mhin o'n d'rinneadh am bonnach sin fhaotainn.' Thug e car eile le na h-eich, agus air dha teachd a rithist gus an àite cheudna, faicear bolla mine 'na shuidhe air an làr. Dh' fhuasgail e na h-eich as a' chrann, agus thug e am bolla mine dhachaidh, agus a leithid de mhin cha d'ith e riamh—bha i cho milis, blasda.

Thòisich e air breithneachadh mu'n chùis, agus thàinig e gus a' chomh-dhunaidh gu'm be so obair nan sibhreath, agus gu'm b' e a dhleasdanas an caoimhneas a dhioladh. Nuair a thàinig a' mhin

¹ Sithichean.

² Crann treabhaidh, or beart-threabhaidh, or simply 'beart'; hence 'leantuinn nan each anns a' chrann treabhaidh' is rendered very briefly locally as: 'leantuinn na beart.'

³ fhùinneadh.

fhéin as a' mhuileann, dh'fhàg e bolla dhi aig ceann an iomaire far an d'fhuair e roimhe so bonnach agus min nan sibhreach ; agus thug iad-san leo min an tuathanaich. Uine ghoirid an déidh so thachair na sibhrich air anns an achadh, agus bha an caoimhneas air tionndadh gu feirg ; chionn ghlac iad e, agus ghabh iad air le buailteanan gu math agus gu ro mhath.

Dh'fheòraich iad deth, 'Carson a thug thu dhuinn min de'n t-seors' ud ?' 'Thug mi dhuibh,' ars an tuathanach, 'min cho math 's a bha agam'; ach ars iadsan, 'a' mhin a thug sinne dhuit b' ann de'n ghraine-mullaich a rinneadh i.' 'Ma tha sin mar sin,' ars esan, 'bheir mise dhuibh min cho math ris a' mhin a thug sibhse dhomhsa.'

Leis a' ghealladh so leig iad an tuathanch mu sgaoil, agus dachaidh ghabh e cho luath 's a bheireadh a chasan e, agus bhuail e an graine-mullaich de'n arbhar, chuir e do'n mhuileann e, agus dh'fhàg e bolla de'n mhin far am faigheadh na sibhrich i. Bho sin gus an do shuibhail e bha e-fhéin agus na sibhrich 'nan deagh chàirdean.

THE FARMER AND THE FAIRIES

The following little tale is told of a certain farmer that had a lease of land in this island in the days gone by. One day in the beginning of spring, as he was in the field following the horses in the plough, he was struck, as often happened, with hunger. Said he to himself, 'If I had but a bit of bread it would keep me up until noontide.' As he came to the head-rig he felt a pleasant smell which gave an additional sharpening to his appetite—the smell of a newly baked bannock. Said he, 'I would like to eat a piece of that bread,' and followed on behind the horses in the plough until he again returned to the head-rig, and what did he see but a bannock newly baked lying on the ground before him. This astonished him, but he lifted up and ate the bannock, and a sweeter bannock he never ate. 'Truly,' he said, 'I would like to get a boll of the meal from which that bannock was made.' He gave another turn with the horses, and having again come to the same place, he sees a boll of meal sitting on the ground. He loosened the horses out of the plough and brought the boll of meal home, and such meal he never ate—it was so sweet and well-tasted.

He commenced to think about the matter, and came to the con-

clusion that this was the work of the fairies, and that it was his duty to reward their kindness. When his own meal came from the mill he left a boll of it at the head-rig where he got, before this, the bannock and meal of the fairies, and they brought with them the meal of the farmer.

A short time after this the fairies met him in the field and their kindness was turned into anger, for they seized him and thrashed him severely with flails. They asked him, 'Why did you give us meal of that kind?' 'I gave you,' said the farmer, 'as good meal as I had.' 'But,' said they, 'the meal which we gave you, it was from the top-grain that it was made.' 'If that is so,' said he, 'I will give you meal as good as the meal you gave me.'

With this promise they released the farmer, and home he went as fast as his legs would take him, and he threshed the top-grain of the corn, sent it to the mill, and left a boll of the meal where the fairies would get it. From then until he died, he and the fairies were good friends.

THERE was once a wedding at Bennan, and during the night the store of whisky got finished. Two men therefore went off to the nearest inn for a fresh supply, carrying a jar with them. After completing their business at the inn they took their way back. As the two men were coming along the road they saw a hole open in the ground, the interior of which was lit up, while strains of fine music were to be heard; on going nearer to the hole they saw fairies dancing and making merry. One of the men said he would go in and have a dance, the other declined and went back to the wedding party. There he told what had become of his companion. A number of those present went out to look for him, but on reaching the spot where the fairy dance had been, no hole was to be seen. A suspicion arose that the lost man had been killed by his comrade, and the story had been told to cover the deed. The friends of the missing man went to a woman of skill for counsel. She told them not to touch the suspected man for a year and a day; and on that day to go to the place where their friend disappeared and they would find it open. They waited, and on the appointed day they went and found the place open, and saw the man still dancing with the fairies, and still with his jar on his back. They told him to come away with them. He

replied, 'Wait till I have finished my dance.' When he came out he thought he had only been in for a reel.

[There are many examples and variants of this story involving the supernatural lapse of time in Fairyland, and these extend from Ireland to Japan. The most familiar literary example is the tale of Rip Van Winkle. A parallel to the Arran story, in which also there is the suspicion of murder, is typical in Wales. A version from Dornoch, Sutherlandshire, places the fairy feasting-hall in the churchyard.]

A WOMAN who was well known as an active housewife became suddenly very dull and sleepy; no amount of rousing would waken her up. Her family were unable to account for the remarkable change which had taken place, but determined to find out the cause. As they watched one night, they observed the fairies enter her room, and saw them turn her into a horse; with this steed they kept carting all night. In the morning a careful search revealed the harness hid in the garden.

[Hugh Miller's delusion before his death was that he was being hag-ridden in the night or 'dragged through places as if by some invisible power.']

AN TUATHANACH AGUS A' CHAILLEACH

Air là àraidh bho chionn fada chaidh tuathanach de mhuinntir Chille-Phàdair do'n Leaca-bhreac a bhuain rainich. Ann an teismeadhon na buana thàinig dùbhradh air an speur, agus air dha amharc suas, de chunnaic e ach mar gu'm biodh sgaoth tiugh bheachann eadar e 's a' ghrian. Thilg e an corran a bh'aige 'na làimh suas anns an adhar, agus có a thainig a nuas mu na cluasan aige ach a bhean fhéin a dh'fhàg e aig an taigh, mar shaoil e, gu tinn 'n a leabaidh. Rug e uirre, cheangail e i agus chuir e tarsuinn air druim na làire ceannainn¹ duibh' i, 'us dh'fhalbh e dhachaidh leatha. Air dha an taigh a ruigheachd thilg e a bhean ann an cùil mhosain 's an t-sabhull, agus chaidh e a dh'fhaicinn ciamar bha cùisean a' dol anns an taigh. Sheall e mu 'n cuairt, agus de chunnaic e ach seana chailleach dhubh, ghrànda, 'n a laighe anns an leabaidh, agus

¹ From *ceann*, head, and *fhionn*, white; *ceann-fhionn*, white faced; *ceannann* or *ceann-fhionn dubh*, a black animal with white face.

i air chrith leis an fhuachd. 'Tha thu fuar a chailleach,' ars an tuathanach, 'Och ! 's ann fuar a tha mi,' ars ise—'tha na crithean-nam-bèd¹ a dol tromham.' 'Mata,' ars esan, 'feumaidh sinn gealbhan a chur air a gharas thu.' Chaidh e gu cùil na moine agus chuir e tar-gan² math gealbhain air a ròstadh damh. Nuair a bhris an gealbhan a mach ann an grìosaich theth, rug e air a' chaillich 'us thilg e i an teis-meadhon na grìosaiche. Cha bu luaithe a mhothaich a' chail-leach an teas 'na làdhran na thug i sgread na dunaich aisde, agus suas an luidhear gabhar i, 's cha'n fhacas sealladh tuilleadh dhi.

An sin ghabh an tuathanach ceann ròpa, us ghabh e air a bhean gu min,³ 's gu garbh, gus an do gheall 's an do bhòidich i nach rachadh i air an turus cheudna tuilleadh, agus o sin suas rinn i bean mhath umhal dha.

THE FARMER AND THE OLD WOMAN

On a certain day long ago a Kilpatrick farmer went out to Leaca-bhreac to cut brackens. In the very middle of his cutting a darkening came over the sky, and as he looked up, what did he see but something like a thick swarm of bees between him and the sun. He threw the reaping-hook which he had in his hand up into the air, and who came down about his ears but his own wife whom he left at home, as he thought, ill in bed. He laid hold of her, tied her, and put her across the back of the black, white-faced mare and went home with her. When he reached the house he threw his wife into a chaff corner in the barn, and went to see how matters were going in the house. He looked around, and what did he see but a black, ugly old woman lying in bed, shivering with the cold. 'You are cold, old woman,' said the farmer. 'Och ! it is cold that I am,' said she, 'the living shiverings are going through me.' 'Well,' said he, 'we must put on a fire that will heat you.' He went to the peat corner and put on a good lump of a fire that would roast an ox.

When the fire broke out into a heat, he caught the old woman and threw her into the very middle of the hot fire. No sooner had the old woman felt the heat about her toes, than she let out a terrible yell, and up the chimney she went, and never more was seen. Then

¹ Equivalent to an intensity of trembling.

² A good heap.

³ *Min*, minute, thorough ; *gu min*, thoroughly. Similarly *garbh*, rough ; *gu garbh*, roughly.

the farmer took a rope and thrashed his wife thoroughly and roughly until she promised and vowed that she would never again go on a like journey, and from then on she made a good obedient wife to him.

[Bees, both in England and Scotland, are closely connected with the soul or spirit, which may issue from the mouth of a sleeper in this form. In the Highlands a death must be told to the bees. A case of throwing a supposed changeling into the fire occurred in Ireland some years ago.]

A MARRIED man fell in love with a fairy, whom he frequently visited at night. His wife coming to know this was greatly concerned, and applied for advice to an old woman who was believed to have power over the fairies. The troubled wife was told to watch when her husband was preparing to visit the fairy, and, as he was leaving the house, to sprinkle oatmeal on his back, unknown to him; this would have the effect of making him see his second love to be very ugly, and he would at once leave her. The wife did as she was told, and had not to complain in future of her husband wandering.

THREE men were returning home in a cart, when, at the top of the hill on the road between Lamdash and Brodick, the horse stood still and snorted, and showed signs of fear, and as though it saw something it did not want to pass. After much urging on the part of the driver, the horse made a bolt forward past a certain spot. The men looked back to see what had frightened the animal, and saw a number of small figures, twelve to eighteen inches in height, on the road behind them. The fairies did them no harm beyond taking the door off the cart. This occurred within the last fifty years, and the relater heard it from one of the men who had been in the cart.

A HILL at Corriegills, called Dundubh (Black Mount), was said to have a cave in which the fairies lived, and this cave was full of treasure. To this home of the fairies an old man called Fullarton would betake himself, as often as he felt inclined. He frequently took a stocking with him and sat knitting and talking with the fairies. But the fairies were not always inclined to let any one away if they could detain him. Fullarton was aware of this fact, and always placed a darning needle in the collar of his jacket, or took a piece of rowan with him; when these precautions were taken by a person, the fairies had

no power over them. On one occasion, however, he had omitted to take either of these objects, with the result that the cave nearly closed before he could escape.

[Iron or steel as a protection against supernatural beings takes us back to the Stone Age, and the preference in rites affecting the gods, who are always conservative, for articles of the old-fashioned stone or flint. By similar reasoning they are adverse to the new things of metal. The rowan is a Celtic sacred tree.]

THERE is found on the moors a tough and hard grass known by the name of *tasinn air geim* (pull of necessity). It grows in circular patches, about one foot or so in diameter. These patches were said to be the dancing-places of the fairies.

At a place called Leac a' Chreac (fairy's bed) a good fairy paid an almost annual visit. The people of the place prepared a bed for this fairy at a certain time every year. Should he come and occupy the bed everything went well, but should he not come ill luck followed.

[In Colonsay, Martin tells us, as already referred to, that the sheaf of oats dressed in woman's apparel was put in a large basket, 'and this they call Briide's-bed.' The date was Bride's day, February 2. If an impression was found in the ashes of the fire, Bride was accounted to have come, which presaged a prosperous year.]

WHEN corn was dried on a kiln, it was always considered necessary to leave a portion for the fairies. If this were not done grievous harm might be wrought by them on the owner of the corn.

WHEN I was an infant my parents took me to visit my father's relatives, who lived south of Whiting Bay. It was in the month of October, and the short evening was drawing to a close when we got seated in the gig ready to start for home. The old grandmother brought out a farl of oatcake and broke it over me as I lay sleeping in my mother's arms; it was to keep the fairies from doing me harm.

[Cf. a story above for the sprinkling of oatmeal as a charm against the fairies.]

THE FAIRY OF TIGH-MEADHONACH

It has been said that the Curries should not leave Tigh-Meadhonach. A story goes of how a fairy used to visit the farm-house at above

place. The farmer's wife had been warned by the fairy not to spill water at the back door, to which she willingly consented, for as long as she refrained from spilling water at this particular part of the premises everything went well. The farmer, his wife, and those able to work in the fields could go and leave the house with the children in it under the charge of the good fairy; even the youngest child in the cradle was good under the influence of its strange protector, who wrought her magic spell over the place while she crooned the following :—

'S naomh na paisdean ; 's naomh na paisdean—
 Cha'n'eil fhios aig bean-an-taighe gur e buidseach mise.'

'Holy are the children ! holy are the children !
 The housewife knows not I am a witch.'

But it chanced that the Curries did leave Tigh-Meadhonach, and one of the name of Crawford took their place. The result was that they did not know the fairy's secret, and water had been spilled at the back door. This caused everything about the house to go wrong. The children screamed, the porridge singed, soot came down the chimney, and such like things went upside down.

But the Crawfords left the place, and it fell once more into the hands of the Curries, who knew the secret of the fairy.

A BIT OF FOLKLORE

The occupiers of a certain township in the south end of Arran while reclaiming their holding resolved to break up an old disused burying-place. This place was reputed to be under the guardianship of the 'little people,' or the fairies. When stopping for dinner one of the farmers said by way of joke to the others, 'Surely the little folks think very little of our work since they don't think it worth their while to give us our dinner.' When they came back to resume their work, they were greatly surprised to find a table spread with everything on it one could think of. None of them, however, had the heart to try any of the things laid out, and so offended were the fairies at this slight on their hospitality that they suffered not so much as one blade to grow for all the labour.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE FAIRIES

Many years ago an Arran smack was crossing to Ireland when it began to sink deeper and deeper into the water. An examination by the crew revealed no leak in their vessel, but latterly one of them, who had second sight, observed a small brown figure walking on the deck. Calling another of the crew to him, he told the latter to stand on the top of *his* feet and look along the deck. The latter was horrified to find that deck, shrouds, and the whole vessel were simply swarming with brown mannikins; and the 'stowaways' being interrogated as to their presence on board, explained that Arran had now become so holy that they were unable to get a livelihood in it, and were accordingly desirous of settling in Ireland.

[A familiar story—the passing of the fairies. The poet Chaucer has it that the blessings of so many holy men in England had banished the fairies from that country. The sinking of the boat under its invisible weight may be compared with the late classical story of how the fishermen of the coast crossed with a cargo of souls to Britain, geographically identified with the island otherworld of the Celts. For the conveyance of the second-sight by contact see story in *III*.]

WHEN the phrase 'in the burn' is used, it does not mean in the water, but 'in the vicinity of the burn,' among the trees in the hollow of the burn or on the banks, or among or on the stones in the burn. Fairies were often seen in the burn (in Corriegills). G—— saw the fairies dancing on a stone in the burn. The top of a granite boulder was flattened out by the fairies dancing on it. If a 'baukan' was seen it was sure to be in the burn, and only the bravest folk would ever think of going through the burn at night. Several baukans (hocans) were seen in the burn in my own day, and I can assure you the fear of going through the burn at night was real and genuine.

There are lots of springs or wells about one place, and it was a very common practice for sick people to send for a can of water from some particular well.

THE LOST PIPER

There is an old story of a piper called Currie, who, accompanied with his dog, went into a cave playing the pipes. The tune he played

was 'Currie will not return; the calves will be cows before Currie returns,' etc., etc. I never heard the rest of it. He never returned, but the dog came out at some place in Cantyre, without its hair.

THERE is a legend about the King's Caves to the effect that there is a subterranean passage from the caves to somewhere else in Arran. An adventurous piper undertook to explore this passage, armed only with his bagpipe and accompanied by his dog. After he had proceeded some distance he met with enemies, because the following wailing words were played loudly upon his pipe, which clearly indicated that he could proceed no farther.

Mo dhith! Mo dhith! 's gun tri laimh agam.
 Bhiodh dà laimh 'sa phìob 'us lamh 'sa chladheamh;

which might be literally rendered in English—

Woe 's me, woe is me not having three hands,
 Two for the pipe and one for the sword.

He, the piper, never returned; his dog, however, made his way out, but bereft of his hair.

[This is a familiar piece of lore, of which perhaps the best-known example is connected with an alleged subterranean passage between Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood. But it has numerous other localities. Descending below the earth, the piper wanders into Fairyland, the Hades or underworld, and cannot return.]

B. BOCANS, GIANT, MONSTERS, ETC.

The bocan is a hobgoblin usually seen about fords or bridges, or at lonely places on the road. Possibly we have the same word in 'bogie' and 'Puck.' In Cornwall the *bucca* is associated with the sea.

A BOCAN or baukan could not speak to you unless you spoke to it first, and if you ask a question of it you had better ask it 'in the name of God.' They were always seen about burns or woods, or along a lonely part of the shore. They were generally known by the name of the folk who had seen them. Thus there would be Donald's Bocan, Betty's Bocan, etc.

THERE is more than one tale told of ‘Domhnall-nam-mogan’s’¹ encounter with a ‘bocan.’ A bocan is one of those dreaded visitants from another world, sometimes taking human form, sometimes animal form, and sometimes the form of inanimate things such as a ship. Domhnall-nam-mogan, a religious man who lived in Tormore, was returning late from a visit to a friend in Machrie, by way of Machrie Water and Tormore Moss, when he was met at a spot near the standing stones by a ‘bocan.’ The bocan was of such size that Donald could see all Aird Bheinn between his legs. Quite undaunted by such huge stature, Donald requested that the ‘bocan’ assume the size and appearance he had when living on earth, and the latter complying, Donald immediately remarked that he now recognised him. He further remarked that the ‘bocan’ must be in possession of the secrets of a good many mysteries. ‘Would he say what had happened to Angus Dubh when the latter was lost on a journey from Lamblash to Shisken by way of the Clachan Glen? He (the bocan) in all probability had a hand in doing away with Angus.’

The ‘bocan’ denied that he had any hand in the crime, but he knew plenty about it, who did hurl Angus over a certain cliff. Donald then asked to be shown a treasure, and was told to come to a certain place in Gleann-an-t-suidhe on the following night, but without the darning needle in his bonnet, the little dog at his heel, and the ball of worsted in his pocket. Donald took counsel as to the advisability of such a course, and as a result did not keep the appointment.

It is also told of ‘Domhnall-nam-mogan’ that one night when returning from Brodick through Gleann-an-t-suidhe he was met by a ‘bocan,’ who after some conversation invited Donald to return next night and he would be shown a treasure, but without what he carried. Donald after getting home repaired to a wise woman in the neighbourhood and told her the news. She strongly advised him to take with him (what the ‘bocan’ had expressly forbidden) the darning needle, bible, and sword he had carried on the previous night. Arrived at the place named, he was to describe a circle on the ground with the point of his sword, and taking his stand in the centre of the circle await in that manner the coming of the ‘bocan.’ This was

¹ Mogainn are stockings without feet to them.

carried out. The 'bocan' on his arrival was much displeased, and taxed Donald with having consulted a certain person (naming the wise woman), which Donald admitted he had done. 'Well, said the 'bocan,' departing, 'had you done as I told you last night, you would never have seen your home again.'

A BROWNIE had attached himself to a farm and proved as a rule a most useful member of the household. This brownie had, however, a very bad fault in his character—he was very jealous of any stranger who came to the house. Once the farmer had asked a friend to have supper with him. The porridge was served, but the guest could not get on with his meal, for as soon as he lifted a spoonful of porridge it slipped back into his plate. The farmer observing what was happening rose from his chair in anger, proceeded to the hearth and lifted the poker, and flung it with considerable violence into a corner of the room, saying at the same time, 'Get out of this.' He explained to this friend that it was the brownie at some of his tricks. The guest concluded his supper in comfort.

THE GIANT OF GLEN SCORRADALE

There was once a giant who lived in this glen who was known by the nickname Scorri.¹ He used to molest the women who went through the glen to sell their butter and eggs at Lamlash. His rudeness got to be so unbearable that the people at last resolved to do away with him. For this purpose a number of sturdy resolute fellows formed themselves into two bands and took up their stations on either side of the pass where the ridge was steepest. When the giant appeared those on the one side began to cry out 'Scorri, Scorri,' and to taunt him with his cowardice. In a great rage he ran up the hillside. When near the top those on the other side appeared and began to mock and insult him still worse than the first. Relinquishing his first purpose, he now made for the other summit, but by the time he had arrived he was so much out of breath that he fell an easy victim to his assailants, and that is, they say, how the glen came by its name.

¹ Reference to Appendix D will show the origin of the name, which is a correct form.

TIGH NA BEISD

Within a mile inland from where the Slidderie Water falls into the sea is a spot known as *Tigh na Beisd*, 'The House of the Monster.'

It is in the bed of the last tributary to the Slidderie Water, and about a furlong from where that burn joins the main stream. There are huge flag-stones strewn about there, said to have been used in the building of her house.

This monster was a female of gigantic stature, whether human or not I cannot tell, but her strength must have been enormous if she handled the stones referred to. I did not hear anything as to her mode of life, whether dangerous to the community or not, and by the present generation she is, I think, entirely forgotten.

NA MÈILEACHAIN¹

Ann an Arainn fada roimh so bha ri fhaotainn seòrsa de chreutairean glé neònach ris an abradh iad 'Na Mèileachain'—cha bu daoine iad 's cha bu bheathaichean iad. Thigeadh iad an sealladh gun iàrraidh 's gun fhios cia as a thainig iad, agus nuair a dh'fhalbhadh iad cha mhotha bha fios c'ait' an deachaidh iad.

Bha aon de'n t-seòrsa so ré ùine fhada aig teaghlach a bha chòmh-nuidh aig ceann mu dheas an eilein. Bhiodh e dol a mach 's a steach leis an eallaidh, agus a' laighe ann am baidheal fhalaimeh aig ceann na bàthaiche. Fad na h-ùine a bha e aca cha'n fhacas riamh e ag itheadh, ach a h-uile oidhche an déidh do bhean-an-taighe an gealbhan a smàladh, thilgeadh i cràglach mine air an t-slabhraidh, agus nuair a dh'éireadh iad 's a' mhaduinn bhiodh i glan imlichte. Chaidh cùisean air an aghaidh mar so ré uine fhada gus an do phòs mac an taighe. Aon latha 's e anabarrach fuar, thilg a' bhean òg seana chòta air a' mhèileachan g' a dhìon o'n fhuachd, ach 's ann a ghabh an creutair bochd a leithid de thàmailt 's gu'n do thog e air, is dh'fhàg e an taigh a' caoineadh gu dubhach, agus cha 'n fhacas riamh tuilleadh e. 'Tha mi coma co dhiù,' arsa seana-bhean-an-taighe, 'mur innis e dà rud—dé an éifeachd a tha 'nn am bun a' chlàdain, agus brìgh fallus an uibhe.'

¹ Supposed to be so called from the bleating sound which they uttered.

THE BLEATERS

In Arran a long time ago was to be found a kind of curious creatures called 'the Bleaters'—they were neither man nor beast. They would come unbidden—whence, no one knew ; and when they would take their departure, it was unknown where they went.

A family in the south end of the island had one of this kind for a long time. He would be going out and in with the cattle, and lying in a cow-stall at the head of the byre. During the whole time he was with them he was never seen eating ; but every night, after the goodwife would smoor the fire, she would throw a handful of meal on the pot-hanger, and when they arose in the morning it would be licked clean. Things went on in this way for a long time until the son of the house married. One day, and it was very cold, the young wife threw an old coat over the 'Mèileachan' to protect him from the cold, but the poor creature took such offence that he made off, and left the house weeping sadly, and he was never seen more. 'I care not whatever,' said the old wife of the house, 'if he does not tell two things—what virtue is in the root of the burr, and what substance in the sweat of an egg.'

[The *Mèileachan* or 'bleater' is really the young one of the *Glaistig*, a thin grey woman dressed in green, a mortal endowed with the fairy nature, who is attached to a house. Here, and in the next story, it acts as a sort of brownie, and is got rid of by a means familiar in many brownie stories, as in the English one 'The Cauld Lad of Hilton':

'Here's a cloak and here's a hood !
The Cauld Lad of Hilton will do no more good.'

A rhyme to the same effect is known of a brownie in the Shetland Isles, of brownies in the Scottish Lowlands, and of the *Gunna* in Tiree :

'Triuthas air Gunna
'S Gunna ris bhuachailleachd,
'S na mheal Gunna 'n triuthas
Ma ni e tuille cuallaich.'

'Trews upon Gunna
Because Gunna does the herding,
But may Gunna never enjoy his trews
If he herds cattle any more.'

(Gregorson Campbell's *Superstitions of the Scottish Highlands*, p. 189).]

MÈILEACHAN A' BHEANNAIN

Aon uair thainig Mèileachan gus a' Bheannan, 's cha robh fhios aig neach cia as a thainig e. Chaidh e an comh-chuideachd le tri de na tuathanaich a bu mhotha anns an àite, agus bha e gach là a' dol a mach 's a steach leis a' chrodh. Bha a cheann 's a chorp daonnan còmhdaichte, 's cha robh ri fhaicinn deth ach a luirgnean. Bha e math air a' mhoch-eirigh, agus moch gach maduinn gheibhteadh 'na sheasamh e air cnocan àraidh a' glaothaich :—

' Crodh Mhic-Cùca, Crodh Mhic-Fhionghuin,¹
Crodh Mhic-Fhearghais Mhóir a' Bheannain
Cuiribh a mach iad.'

Air latha fuar geamhraidh fhuair aon de na mnathan e 'na sheasamh air lic mhóir a' caoidh 's a' caoineadh 'us e air chrith mar gu'n robh e bàsachadh leis an fhuachd. Ghabh am boirionnach truas de 'n chreutair, agus thug i a plaideag fhéin bhàrr a guailibh agus thilg i air a' mhèileachan i. Cha bu luaithe rinn i sin na ghlaodh an creutair a mach, 'Is olc an ni a rinn thu orm, agus is trom an t-eallach a leag thu air mo dhruim.' Air so a ràdh thug e an rathad air a' gul gu cruaidh, agus cha'n fhacas riamh tuilleadh e.

THE BEANNAN MÈILEACHAN

Once upon a time a Mèileachan arrived at Beannan and no one knew whence he came. He associated himself with three of the largest farmers in the place, and every day he was going out and in with the cattle. His head and body were always covered, and all that could be seen of him were his legs. He was an early riser, and every morning he would be found standing on a certain hillock shouting :—

' The cattle of Cook, the cattle of Mackinnon,
The cattle of Big Ferguson of Beannan—
Turn them out.'

On a cold winter day one of the women found him standing on a flag-stone, moaning and lamenting, and shivering as if he was perishing with the cold. The woman took pity on the creature, and took

¹ Local pronounciation of this name is = (MhicKennain).

her own plaid off her shoulders and threw it over the Mèileachan. No sooner had she done this than the creature cried out, 'Ill is the turn thou hast done me, and heavy is the burden thou hast laid on me.' So saying he took himself off weeping bitterly, and he was never seen more.

AN TUATHANACH AGUS AN UAMH-BHEIST

Bha tuathanach aon oidhche a' marcachd dhachaidh gu Clachaig o Loch-an-Eilein, agus ann an lagan uaigneach de'n rathad ghrad leum rudeigin air druim an eich air a chùlaobh, agus cho grad leum e rithist gu làr. Thug an t-each clisgeadh as, agus air falbh ghabh e 'na dheann ruith; ach cha b'fhada gus an robh an rud a bh'ann a rithist air druim an eich, agus air ais gus an làr mu'm b'urrainn do'n mharcaiche greim a dheanamh air. Chaidh an seorsa cleasachd so air aghaidh car tacan, ach mu dheireadh rug an tuathanach air rud-na-cleasachd, agus cheangail e gu dìongmhalta e le bann leathraich a bh'aige. Nuair a ràinig e a dhachaidh dé bha 'na chuideachd ach òg-bheist, aon de shliochd nan uamh-bheistean a bha tuineachadh an sud 's an so am measg frògan an eilein, agus a bha 'nan culaidh-uamhais do'n choimhearsnachd. Cheangail e suas an t-òg-bheist ri posta gòbhlach a bha 'cumail a suas spàrran an fharaidh, ach cha b'fhada gus an do lorgaich an t-seana-bheist a mach a h-àl, agus gu borb 's le bagradh dh'iarr i a shaorsa 'thoirt dha, ag radh:—

'Fliuch, fuar m' fheusag,
Cuir a mach mo mhinneag,¹
No 's i 'chlach as àird' ad thaigh
Gu grad a' chlach is isle.'

Bha an tuathanach toilichte a bhi cuidhte dhiubh araon, agus nuair a fhuair an t-seana-bheist a h-àl 'na gairdeanan, thubhairt i ris, 'Tha mi an dòchas nach do leig thu ris dhaibh éifeachd uisge uibhe no bun na feanndaig.'

THE FARMER AND THE MONSTER

A farmer was one night riding home to Clachaig from Lamlash, and in a lonely hollow of the road something suddenly leaped on

¹ Literally, my little kid, but here used as a term of endearment.

the horse's back behind him, and as quickly leaped again to the ground. The horse was startled, and off he went at full speed; but it was not long until the thing again was on the back of the horse, and then on the ground before the rider could lay hold of it. This sort of caper went on for a while, but at last the farmer seized the intruder and tied it securely with a leather belt which he had. When he reached his home, what had he in his company but a young monster, one of the offspring of the monsters which had their abode here and there amongst the recesses of the island, and which were a source of terror to the neighbourhood. He tied up the young monster to a forked post which was supporting the rafters of the loft, but it was not long until the old monster tracked out her offspring, and fiercely and threateningly demanded its release, saying:—

‘Wet and cold my beard,
Put my darling outside,
Or the highest stone in thy house
Will soon be the lowest.’

The farmer was glad to be rid of them both, and when the old monster got her young in her arms she said to it, ‘I hope you have not revealed to them the virtue of egg-water or of the root of the nettle.’

[This is apparently the *Glaistig* and her *Mèileachan*, for which see earlier note on the latter.]

A' BHEAN CHRODHANACH

Aig an àm de'n bhliadhna anns am biodh na bà air an cur gu àirigh chaidh dà nighean òg a bhuineadh do cheann mu thuath Arainn le an cuid cruaidh air àirigh am bràigh Loch Iorsa. Nuair a bhiodh cuibhrionn ime agus càise deas aca rachadh té dhiubh dhachaidh leis, a' tilleadh thun na h-àirigh an ath latha, agus an té eile air a fàgail leatha fhéin. Aon oidhche nuair a bha aon diubh a' gabhail mu thàmh, thainig bean choimheach gu dorus a' bhothain àirigh ag iarraidh fàrdaich car na h-oidhche, is i air call a rathaid. Gu mòr an aghaidh a toile dh'fhosgail an nighean an dorus, agus a steach ghabh a' bhan-choigreach. Bha i 'na boirionnach anabarrach àrd, agus cha bu luaithe 'chaidh i steach na theich madadh-chaorach na h-inghinn le greann gus an oisinn a b'fhaide air falbh de 'n bhothan. Cha b' fhada gus an deachaidh a' bhean choimheach a laighe, agus

bha an nighean òg a' cumail a sùla gu geur uirre, chionn cha robh ach beagan earbsa aice ann am bana-chompanach na h-oidhche. Sùil d'an d'thug a' chailin faicear i le uamhas, crodhan dubh sìnte mach fo 'n aodach leapa. Ghabh i leithsgeul eigin gu dol a mach, agus air dhi taobh a mach a' bhothain a dheanamh, anns na buinn gabhar i sìos le beinn, cho luath 's a bheireadh a casan i, agus am madadh 'na cuideachd

Ach cha b'fhada ruith dhi nuair a chuala i farum 'na déidh, agus thuig i an sin gu'n robh a' bhean-chrodhanach air a luing. Stuig i am madadh innte, agus thug e aghaidh dhanarra uirre ach stad cha do chuir e air a siubhal. Bha 'bhean-chrodhanach a sìor dheanamh suas ris a' chailin, agus nuair a ràinig i taigh a h-athar, a h-anail as an uchd agus a cridhe 'na sluigean, bha 'chailleach mhór cho dlùth dhi 's nach robh ùine aice ach an dorus a chrannadh air sròin na caillich, gun urrad 's am madadh fhaotainn a steach. Fhuaradh am beathach bochd anns a' mhaduinn 'na mhirean as a' chéile, 's gun aon ribeag fionnaidh air fhagail air.

THE HOOFED WOMAN

At the time of year when the cows were being put to the hill-pastures, two young maidens belonging to the northern part of Arran went with their cattle to a shieling on the upper part of Loch Iorsa. When they had a quantity of butter and cheese ready, one of the girls would go home with it, returning to the shieling the following day, and the other was left alone. One night, as one of them was retiring to rest, a strange woman came to the door of the hut seeking shelter for the night, as she had lost her way. Much against her will the maiden opened the door, and in walked the stranger. She was a very tall woman, and no sooner had she entered than the girl's sheep-dog, with an angry look, betook himself to the farthest corner of the hut. It was not long until the strange woman went to bed, and the young girl was keeping a watchful eye on her, for she had but little faith in her companion of the night. As she glanced round, the girl sees with horror a black hoof stretched out from under the bed-clothes. She made some excuse to go out, and on reaching the outside of the hut, she took to her heels and down the hill she went as fast as her feet would take her, and the dog in her company.

But she did not run far when she heard a sound behind her, and then she understood that the hoofed-woman was on her track. She spurred the dog at her and he made a bold attack, but her progress he did not stop. The hoofed-woman was constantly making up on the girl, and when she reached her father's house, breathless and her heart in her throat, the big woman was so near to her that she had but time to bar the door in her face, without as much as getting the dog inside. The poor beast was found next morning mangled to pieces, and not a hair left on him.

AN LEANNAN CRODHANACH

Bha cailin òg ann aon uair aig an robh gille dreachail mar leannan. Bhiodh e gu tric a' dol g'a faicinn an uaigneas, ach cha'n innseadh e 'ainm, no far an robh e chòmhnuidh. Gach uair a rachadh e 'choimhead uirre gheibheadh e i daonnan ri snìomh. Bha e ro dheònach gu'n ruitheadh i air falbh leis, agus a sìor ghuidhe uirre i dhol leis; ach dhiùlt i sin a dheanadh. Uair de na h-uairean a chaidh e g' a faicinn bha i air tì toiseachadh air sac mòr rolag olainn a shnìomh. Thairig e dhi gu'n snìomhadh esan an sac rolaig na'n gealladh i dhà a dhol leis. Bha i sgith de'n obair, agus thug i gealladh dhà gu'n rachadh i leis air chòmhnant gu'm biodh i saor o'n ghealladh na 'm faigheadh i a mach 'ainm mu'm biodh an sac rolaig snìomhte. 'S e bh'ann gu'n do thog e 'n sac air a dhruim is ghabh e'n rathad. Air oidhch' àraidh na dhéidh sin, air dhi a bhi dol gu taigh caraid, agus a' dol thairis air àllt domhain ann an àit' uaigneach, chual' i fuaim cuibhle-shnìomhaich agus duanag òrain ag éirigh a ìochdair an ùillt. Chuir so iongantais air a' chailin agus theann i dlùth do'n àite as an d'thàinig an fhuaim. Dé chunnaic 's a chual' i ach sean duine crìon, crìopach, dubh-neulach, 'na shuidhe aig cuibhil mhòir a' snìomh gu dian, agus a' seinn gu h-aighearach :

'S beag fhios a th'aig mo leannan-sa
Gur "Crodhanach" is ainm dhomh.'

Thuig a' chailin a nis an seòrsa leannain a bh' aice, agus gu'm b'ann am frògan an ùillt a bha' àite-còmhnuidh. Nuair a chuir e crìoch air an obair chaidh e a rithist a dh'fhaicinn na cailin, agus a dh'iarraidh duais a shaothrach. Cho luath 's a chunnaic i e dh'aithris i na briathran a chual' i :

'S beag fhios a th'aig mo leannan-sa
 Gur "Crodhanach" is ainm dhomh.'

Cha luaithe chuala 'Crodhanach' na facail sin, na as an t-sealladh gabbar e 'na shradan dearga suas an luidhear, agus tuilleadh dragh cha do chuir e air a' chailin.

THE SECRET NAME

There was once a young girl who had a handsome sweetheart. He would be often going to see her in secret, but would not tell his name, nor where he dwelt. Every time he went to visit her he would always find her spinning. He was very desirous that she should elope with him and always beseeching her to go with him ; but this she refused to do. One of the times that he went to see her she was about to begin to spin a sack of wool. He offered that he would spin the sack of wool if she would promise to go with him. She was tired of the work, and gave him a promise that she would go with him on condition that she would be free from her promise if she found out his name before the sack of wool was spun. With this he put the sack on his back and went on his journey. On a certain night after that, as she was going to a friend's house, and crossing a deep stream in a lonely place, she heard the sound of a spinning-wheel and a lilt of a song coming from the bottom of the stream. This astonished the girl, and she drew near the place whence the sound came. What did she see and hear but an old, dark, wizened man sitting at a large wheel, spinning hard and singing cheerfully :

'Oh ! little does my sweetheart know
 That "Crodhanach" is my name.'

The girl now understood what kind of a sweetheart she had, and that his dwelling was in the deep recesses of the stream. When he had finished his work he went again to see the girl, and to request the reward of his labour. As soon as she saw him she repeated the words she had heard :

'Oh ! little does my sweetheart know
 That "Crodhanach" is my name.'

No sooner had 'Crodhanach' heard those words than out of sight

he goes in red sparks up the chimney, and no more did he trouble the girl.

[On this type of story a book has been written called from the English version 'Tom, Tit, Tot.' The story is known as of the 'Rumpelstiltskin' class, that being the German name. The Banffshire variant is 'Whuppity Stoorie.']

URUISG ALLT-UILLIGRIDH

Ann an Allt-Uilligrìdh tha linne ris an canar gus an là an duigh, 'Linne-na-Béist.' Tha e air a ràdh gu'n d'fhuair an linne an t-ainm so chionn gu'n robh, a réir an t-sean sgeòil, Uruisg uamhasach aon uair a gabhail còmhnuidh ann an còsan na linne. Thuit gu'n robh fear òg aig an Uruisg so—Mèileachan a b'ainm dha—agus air uairean dh'fhàgadh e bruachan an ùillt agus ghabhadh e cuairt troimh na h-achaidhean.

THE URUISG¹ OF ALLT-UILLIGRIDH

In Allt-Uilligrìdh there is a pool which is called to this day 'The Monster's Pool.' It is said that the pool got this name because that, according to tradition, a terrible Uruisg at one time dwelt in the caverns of the pool. It happened that this Uruisg had a young male one—called Mèileachan—and at times he would leave the banks of the stream and would take a turn through the fields.

INNIS EABHRA

Tha An Innis Eabhracha, reir beul-aithris, 'na eilean a tha fo dhruidheachd, agus 'na laighe fo 'n fhairge dlùth do dh' Eilean-an-iaruinn a mach o thraigh Choire-chraoibhidh. Air uairean bhitheadh e an sealladh cho soilleir 's gu'm faicteadh na h-adagan arbhair air na h-achaidhean, agus na mnathan a' cur an luideagan a mach air thìormachadh. Tha e nis mu leth-chiad bliadhna bho 'n chunnacas mu dheireadh e. Aon latha air do thuathanach a bhi mach ag amharc

¹ The Uruisg was supposed to be a huge being of solitary habits that haunted lonely and mountainous places. In it the qualities of man and spirit were curiously commingled. There were male and female Uruisgs, and the race was said to be the offspring of unions between mortals and fairies.

as déidh a spréidh, de chunnaic e ach an t-eilean ag éirigh as an fhairge dlùth do'n chladach, agus a chum 's gu'm faigheadh e sealladh a b'fhearr dheth ruith e thun a' chladaich. Car tiotan chaill e sealladh air an fhairge ann an lagan troimh 'm b'eiginn da siubhal, agus air dha an àirde ruigheachd bho 'm faiceadh e 'mhuir, cha robh an t-eilean r' a fhaicinn—chaidh e as an t-sealladh gu buileach.

Air do bhàta Arannach aon uair a bhi fàgail ceadha Ionaràir, agus dìreach mu'n do sheòl i, tha e air a ràdh gu'n d'thainig duine àraidh—coigreach—le lothag ghlas air taod, ag iarraidh turus-mara. Thug an sgiobair air bòrd iad, 's chuireadh am bàta mach gu fairge. Nuair a thainig iad dlùth do dh' Eilean-an-iaruinn thòisich an lothag ri sitrich, agus chualas sìtreach eile 'ga freagairt o dhoimhne na fairge. An sin dh'iarr an coigreach air an sgiobadh a tilgeil thar an taobh, agus air dhaibh sin a dheanadh thug e cruinn-leum as a déidh agus chaidh iad, araon, as an t-sealladh. Bliadhna 'na dhéidh so, có a thachair air an sgiobair aig margadh Ionaràir ach an duine ceudna do'n d' thug e turus-mara. 'Chunnaic mi thusa roimhe so,' ars' an sgiobair. 'Ma chunnaic,' ars' an duine, 'cha 'n fhaic thu fear eile gu brath,' agus am priobadh na sùla, thugar sgaile le bhois do'n sgiobair 's an aodann, 'ga fhagail dubh dall.

Tha e air a ràdh gu'n cluinneadh na h-iasgairean, 's iad a' feitheamh an lìontan a thogail, air oidhchean ciùin, sàmhach, crònna tiamhaidh ciùil agus ranntachd òran ag éirigh suas a Innis Eabhrach, mar so :

'Càit an d'fhàg sibh na fir gheala, Ho ro 's golaidh u lé?
Dh'fhàg sinn iad 'san eilean mhara, Ho ro 's golaidh u lé.
Cùl ri cùl 'us iad gun anail, Ho ro 's golaidh u lé.'

Ma 's fìor an sgeul, thainig tuathanach a bha an Cillephàdair aon latha air maighdean-mhara a Innis Eabhrach agus i 'na suain chadail air an tràigh, 's a cochull-druidheachd ri 'taobh. Rinn e greim air a' chochull agus ghabh e a rathad thun a thaighe, 's cha robh aic' air ach gu'm b'éiginn dhi dhol leis. Thainig iad a réir a' chéile cho math 's gu'n do phòs iad, agus bha mac 'us nighean aice dha. Seachd bliadhna 'na dheidh sin air dha bhi anns an eaglais air là sabaid àraidh, agus air tilleadh dhachaidh cha robh a bhean air thoiseach air. 'Se bh' ann gu'n robh na pàisdean ri cleasachd anns an t-sabhull, agus thainig iad tarsuinn air rud a chuir ioghnadh orra. 'Nan deann-ruith chaidh iad thun am mathar a' glaothaich 'A

mhathair! A Mhathair! thigibh agus faicibh an rud bòidheach a tha aig m'athair falaichte anns a' chùil-mhosain.' Is math a thuig am mathair dé an 'rud boidheach,' a bh' ann, agus thuirt i ris a' chloinn, 'thoiribh a steach an so e agus bheir mise ceapaire math òrdaig dhuibh.' Rinn na pàisdean mar dh'iarradh orra, agus mar bha dùil aice, 'se an cochull druidheachd a bh' ann da rìreadh. Rinn i greim air a' chochull, 's cha luaithe fhuair i 'na làmhan e na thugar aisde gus a seann dachaidh anns a' mhuir. Air uairean thigeadh i gu Rudha'n-lòin a' gairm air a pàisdean, agus chunnacas iad 'na cuideachd 'us i 'cìreadh am fuilt agus a' seinn dhuanagan daibh. Aon latha lean am balachan a mhathair air a' mhuir, agus cha 'n fhacas sealladh tuilleadh dheth, ach thill a' chaileag dachaidh. Dh'fhàs i suas 'na h-inghinn cìreachdail, phòs i, agus a réir an sgeòil, tha cuid d' a sliochd a lathair gus an là an diùgh.

ISLAND EABHRA

Innis Eabhra, according to tradition, is an enchanted island, lying under the sea, near to the Iron Rock off the Corriecravie shore. At times it would be seen so distinctly that the corn stooks were visible in the fields, and the women putting out their clothes to dry. It is now about fifty years since it was last seen. One day as a farmer was out looking after his flock, what did he see but the island rising out of the sea close to the shore, and in order to get a better sight of it he ran towards the shore. For a short time he lost sight of the sea in a hollow through which he had to pass, and on reaching the height from which he could view the sea, the island was nowhere to be seen—it had entirely disappeared.

An Arran boat at one time was about to leave Ayr quay, and just before sailing, it is said that a certain man—a stranger—with a grey filly by the halter came and asked to be taken on board. The skipper took them on board, and the boat was put off to sea. When they approached the Iron Rock, the filly began to neigh, and other neighing was heard in response from the depths of the sea. Then the stranger asked the crew to throw her over the side, and this being done, he gave a sudden leap after her and both disappeared. A year after this, who met the skipper at Ayr market but the same man to whom he gave the passage on his boat. 'I saw you before now,'

said the skipper. 'If you did,' said the man, 'you will not see another for ever,' and in the twinkling of an eye struck the skipper with his palm a blow on the face, leaving him black blind.

It is said that the fishermen, as they waited to lift their nets would hear, on calm, still nights, a weird sound of music and snatches of songs coming up from Innis Eabhra, thus :

'Where have you left the fair men, Ho ro golaidh u lé?
 We left them on the sea-girt isle, Ho ro golaidh u lé.
 Back to back with no breath in them, Ho ro golaidh u lé.'

If true the tale, a Kilpatrick farmer one day came upon a mermaid from Innis Eabhra while she was sound asleep on the shore, and her magic cloak by her side. He snatched the cloak and went on his way, to his house, and she had no alternative but to go with him. They agreed so well together that they got married and she bore him a son and daughter. Seven years after that he was at church on a certain Sabbath day, and on returning home his wife was not before him. It happened that the bairns were diverting themselves in the barn, and they came across a thing which astonished them. In hot haste they ran to their mother, shouting, 'Mother! mother! come and see the beautiful thing my father has hidden in the chaff-corner.' Well did their mother understand what the 'beautiful thing' was, and she said to the children, 'Bring it in here and I will give you a good thumb-piece.' The children did as they were told, and as she expected, it was the magic cloak indeed.

She laid hold of the cloak, and no sooner did she get it into her hands, than off she went to her old home in the sea. At times she would come to Rudha 'n-lòin to her children, and they would be seen in her company, and she combing their hair and singing songs to them. One day the little boy followed his mother to the sea, and never was seen again, but the girl returned home. She grew up to be a handsome lass. She married, and according to the tale, some of her offspring¹ are alive to the present day.

[One of the innumerable variants of the 'Swan Maiden' type—so called because the magic dress is the feathers of that bird—in which the possession of the garment gives power over the supernatural maiden. In Uist the woman

¹ Known as Sliochd an Ròin (*Ròn*, a seal).

is a seal-maiden, and the 'MacCodrums of the seals' in North Uist owe their description to this descent. The item of the boy following his mother is not general.

The lost or sea-covered island, sometimes a city as in Brittany, is common to the Celtic peoples.]

III

FORETELLINGS AND SIGNS

A cave at Kilpatrick was used for a considerable time as a place of public worship, and is still known as the Preaching Cave.¹ A certain man with his brother was one day on his way to a service to be held in the cave when he suddenly stopped, and pointed towards the rocks on the shore, saying to his brother, 'Do you see that?' The brother said, 'I can see nothing.' 'Well, place your foot on mine and look again.'² This being done, the astonished man beheld his brother's wraith at the spot pointed out to him. The man who had seen his own wraith died in the cave.

APPARITIONS

Some thirty-five years ago a shoemaker named Callum went amissing at Blackwaterfoot. For a short time before his death a strange light was observed almost nightly to rise at the mouth of the Blackwater and to float sometimes along the shore. It was seen by a large number of people, many of whom considered it to be a sign of the impending death of some one, and that probably by drowning. Among those who professed to hold this view was S——, who used to jocularly remark that when So-and-so was drowned they'd have to take a liberal supply of whisky with them when searching for the body. It so happened that S—— was amissing and search for him went on for many days, during which time the mysterious light was more or less in evidence. After the finding of his body on the shore (he had been drowned in the Blackwater) the light was no longer seen. Several people saw this light rise from the mouth of the burn, float over to Cleit an Ruithe, a distance of from 200 to 300 yards, and then fly back. It then disappeared or sank. They described the

¹ See p. 145.

² This was the usual means employed to convey the power of seeing to another.

light as appearing to be about the largeness of a horse. The light was not seen elsewhere than on that part of the shore from Drumadoon Point to Blackwaterfoot.

RIOCHD NAN DAOINE (=SIGN, APPEARANCE, FORM,
SPIRIT) OF THE PEOPLE

Up to twenty or thirty years ago, in Arran, if people dreamt of certain animals or birds they were said to have dreamt of certain families or clans. For instance, a young woman named MacAlister reported one morning that during the previous night she dreamt that while walking across the Moine-mor she was followed by a dog, which jumped on her at last and completely swallowed her. Her mother laughingly replied that it was evident she was not destined to change her name when she married, for a MacAlister would carry her off. Possibly the mother had a shrewd idea where her daughter's affections lay, as the latter did marry a MacAlister. The parties lived about one hundred years ago.

A certain person once reported that he had dreamt he was watching with great interest the flight of a flock of pigeons, which finally landed on a certain field and appeared to consider themselves at home. The explanation that was given for the pigeons coming to stay was that the land on which they had alighted would pass into possession of the MacKelvies.

On one occasion a woman of the name of Currie and a woman of the MacGregors got into an argument which finally waxed somewhat hot, the locality being Lag-na-moine (Shisken), a place where some families named Currie had at one time held farms which had passed into the possession of MacGregors, the Curries viewing the instalment of their successors with rather bitter feelings.

The Currie woman finally made a slighting allusion to the reasons for the MacGregors coming to Arran, many having come for sanctuary when the clan was outlawed and hunted like wild beasts from their native straths. 'Dé thug na coin-dhubha dh'Arainn?' (What brought the blood-hounds to Arran?). Quick as a flash came the retort of the MacGregor woman: 'Thàinig iad a ruagadh na feadagan a Lag-na-moine' (They came to hunt the plovers out of Lag-na-

moine). The ' riochd ' of a Macgregor was the bloodhound, that of a Currie the plover.

RIOCHD NAN DAOINE—DREAM SIGNS OF THE PEOPLE

MacGregors . . .	bloodhounds.	MacKelvies . . .	doves.
MacAlisters . . .	sheep dogs.	MacDonalds . . .	sheep dogs.
Curries . . .	plovers.	MacKenzies . . .	bees.
MacNicols . . .	cats.	Cooks . . .	pigs, bulls.
Hamiltons . . .	hares	Kerrs . . .	sheep
MacLardys . . .	asses.	MacNeils . . .	dun bull.
Bannatynes . . .	mice. -	MacMillans . . .	wood-pigeons.
Robertsons . . .	rats.	Fullartons . . .	geese.
Stewarts . . .	lions (?).	MacMasters . . .	pigs.
MacKinnons . . .	rabbits.	MacNeishes . . .	cats.
Sillars . . .	frogs.		

DEATH SIGNS

Curries, Sillars, Thomsons	<i>bodach a' chiopainn</i> —the sound as of a tethering pin being driven into the ground.
Kerrs, MacMillans . . .	<i>piobaire sith</i> —the fairy piper, whose music started sweetly enough and ended in a wail.
MacKelvies	the apparition of a white lady.
MacKenzies	sound like a hammering on the wall.
Cooks	sound like a slash on piece of furniture.

GHOSTS

A woman of Claynod had been visiting a sick person, and on her way home she encountered the apparition of a headless man. The woman recognised the figure as that of a man who had died some months previously. The woman got such a shock that she died the following day.

S— D—, a Brodick man, was coming homewards over the String Road, when he saw a funeral party on its way up. When it came near to him he saw it was a spectre one.

IV

THE EVIL-EYE

The belief in the evil effects of the look of certain persons is universal and to some extent still prevalent. Some modern instances, which have come in the way of the writer, were mainly due to the false logic of coincidence; others were simple survivals. If a person possessed of the evil-eye wished to buy an animal to which he or she had taken a fancy, it was well to close with the offer; otherwise the animal would suffer and perhaps die. This is illustrated in a story below. The *edlas* (knowledge) was a charm for sickness, and the *edlas a' chronachaidh* (*cronaich*, a rebuke) a cure for the evil-eye.

UNTIL quite recently the belief in the evil-eye was very prevalent in Arran. Even good men could have the evil-eye through no fault of their own. A minister of Kilmorie always had to invoke the blessing of God on his cattle every time they came under his eye to save them from its evil effect. Milk was very susceptible, so the churn had to be hidden from view as much as possible. Cattle were protected by tying a twig of rowan to their tail; one James M'Alister, cottar, Kilpatrick, always took this precaution. When oats were sent to the mill the bags were safe if tied by a straw thumb rope. The Nicols of Leekymore are said to have been the last who used this method of tying.

SEVENTY-SIX years ago a Druimaghiner man was returning home with a cart-load of sea-tangle. On the way he met a man who commenced to bargain with him concerning the mare which was yoked to the cart. He refused to sell her for the price offered, but no sooner had they parted than the animal showed signs of being in great pain. She became so ill that he had to unyoke her, and before he had reached his house the beast was white with foam, and had kicked her shoes clean off. The farmer at once sent his son for one Hugh M'Kenzie, famed for his skill in cures. Hugh came quickly; and when he saw

the animal he said to the owner, 'You met ——' (naming the individual), 'who wanted to buy the mare.' The reply was he had. 'Ha !' said Hugh, 'many a race he has given my short legs.' Hugh got some salt and soot ; to this he added some secret ingredients he had brought with him, and rolled the mixture into a ball. He gave a portion of it to the mare, and the balance on being thrown into the fire by him exploded with a loud report. In a few minutes the beast got all right.

THE use of salt as a 'preservative' is illustrated in the case of an Arran woman who was a strong believer in and much afraid of the effects of the evil-eye. She had one cow, and it gave her much discomfort when she saw the cow grazing near the roadside, fearing that some passer-by might 'put his eye in her.' To keep the milk right, if she gave any to be carried away, or even 'to be drunk on the premises,' she invariably put salt in it, and that sometimes to excess. The reciter said, 'For a while we were getting milk from her for a man staying with us who was seriously annoyed when the milk was more than ordinarily salt, giving vent to his discontent by saying, "Why the deuce does she not let us put saut in oor ain milk ?" ' ¹

IN Arran, as elsewhere, *cronachadh* seems to be regarded as hereditary. One reciter said of a man at Lochranza that it did not matter what he would look at, his look would *cronach* it. A lad from another part of the island went to ask a daughter of this man to marry him, and when the nearest neighbour heard of his courtship she became exceedingly angry, and protested against any of that man's daughters being brought there 'to *cronach* everything about the place.' ²

AN old lady in Arran remembers being told of an older generation who, desiring not to injure their own or another's beast lest there should be evil in their eye unknown to themselves, always took the precaution of blessing the animal before looking at it. The words they used were '*Gu'm beannaicheadh Dia am beathach*' (That God may bless the beast), or '*Gu'm beannaicheadh Dia an ni air am bheil mo shuil ag amharc*' (May God bless the thing my eye is regarding). ³

¹ *Evil-Eye in the Western Highlands*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

THE VALUE OF A ROWAN KNOT

An Arran farmer who is still alive remembers his father buying a Highland quey at Dougarie farm. It grew like the ferns and turned out a splendid cow, so much so that the factor bought it. One morning early father and son set off with the cow over the hill to Lamlash. Before setting out they took off the rowan knot that was always attached to her tail, to ward off the evil eye. The neighbours all turned out to have a look at the factor's cow. They had not gone very far when she got very sluggish, always getting from bad to worse, until at last she lay down, stretching out her head and legs. From entreaties they went to threats, and from threats to blows; not a bit of her would she rise, so the son went to the nearest house for help. He got two men to come, but do what they could she would not so much as put a hoof under her. After working with her till they were tired, the sister of those who had come to their aid appeared on the scene with a vessel filled with a potent and disagreeable liquid termed in Gaelic, 'Fual.' She dashed the contents of her vessel over the cow. No sooner did the animal feel this than she shook herself, then got up, and made for home as light in the step as ever. Next morning, with the rowan knot securely tied to her tail, they found no difficulty in reaching Lamlash.

A MAN had been visiting some relations who lived some distance off. At a late hour he started to ride homewards. When he had almost finished his journey, he passed a man on the road whom he thought he recognised and spoke to. He had not reached home, however, before his horse became ill, breaking out into a frothing sweat. On the advice of neighbours, fomentations were applied, but the horse became worse. After a consultation the conclusion was arrived at that the horse had been *cronachadh* (bewitched). Some one possessing a knowledge of *èolas a' chronachaidh* (the counter-charms for witchcraft) was sent for. On his arrival he asked the rider if he had met any person on the way. He said he had. He was then asked if he had spoken to him, and he answered 'Yes.' He was then told that it was well for him he had done so, or he would have suffered and not his horse. A rite was performed (its nature is not now remembered) by the person of skill, and the horse jumped up and started to eat.

It was customary in meeting any person in the dark of night to address him as if it might be the devil.

ABOUT twenty years back a native of Shisken, who was bed-ridden for a long time owing to a badly sprained leg, took it into his head that he was the victim of the evil-eye or else he was bewitched. As nothing seemed to cure him, he secretly got an old man, John M'Alistar, who used to cure elf-shots¹ in cattle, to perform his incantations, but he could not say whether he was either better or worse.

So strong a hold had this belief on the south end of the island, it is only a few years since one Edward Cook died, who was credited with being able to kill a litter of pigs or a foal by a single glance.

A PINCH of oatmeal sprinkled on a bee-hive protected the bees from the evil-eye. I have seen it applied.

'*Chuir e do shùil air*': He put his eye on it.—Gaelic expression used to denote anything bewitched.

'*Cronachas do shùla ort*': I do not heed your eye.—Gaelic expression said in order to divert the evil-eye away from an object.

V

WITCHCRAFT

Kilbride Session. June 3, 1705

ROBERT STEWART foresaid summoned cited and compearing, and being interrogat if he called Mary Stewart a witch, confessed he did, and that upon good grounds, in regard that she frequently used charms, for healing of diseases.

Mary Stewart being asked whether she acknowledged what the said Robert alledged against her, answered yea, but that she never

¹ 'Elf-shots' were supposed to be the cause of certain mysterious diseases in cattle. These were believed to be due to penetration by a flint arrow-head or other stone weapon associated in use with the fairies or elves. Such was the primitive archæology. In Ireland peasants wear such articles set in silver as charms against elf-shots, on the principle of curing or warding off like by like, or more probably trusting to the efficacy of the metal.

thought it a fault in regard the words she used for removing the distemper were in her judgment good; and being desyred to rehearse the words she used for cureing some one disease, she proceeded thus:

‘Togidh Criosd do chnamhan
mar thog Muire a lamhan
nar thuireadh golann faoi nemh
mar chruinnigh corp a chuimigh ¹
Togidh Peadar, togidh Pòl
togidh Micheal, togidh Eoin
togidh Molais is Molinn
enamhan do chinn suas as an fheòil.’ ²

[‘Christ will raise thy bones
even as Mary raised her hands
when she raised the wail of lamentation towards heaven
as she gathered the body of the bound One.
Peter will raise, Paul will raise,
Michael will raise, John will raise,
Molais and Moling will raise
the bones of thy head up out of the flesh.’]

These words, she says, are used for healing the migrim and other distempers in the head.

The Session after holding furth to her that all charms proceeded from the Devil’s invention, let the words be never so good, and that they were expressly forbidden in the word of God, they appoynt her to make publick confession of her guilt before the congregation next Lord’s Day.

Session at Kilmorie. 9th Dec. 1716

FERGUHAR FERGUSON forsaid being cited & called at the Church door Compeared & being interogate if he did not take upon him to cure people that were Elf Shot & used Charms for Effect He answered that he was desired & sent for by some to search for holes in people

¹ ? [choimhdhe] choimhidh; or, better, modern *Chinigh*.

² The Gaelic is written in Irish letters and is in parts obscure. For reading and translation thanks are due to Prof. Mackinnon, Edinburgh, and Rev. Malcolm Macleod, Broadford, Skye.

that were suspected to be shot, which he did, But as for charms that he used none of them, so far as he knew & being further interrogate if he did find any holes in people when he searched them, he answered he did & being further interrogate what he used for a cure ? he answered a little Black Soap being further asked if he did not make use of Herbs for making drink to the sick persons he replied he did, and being asked what herb it was he used ? he said it was the Herb Agrimony & being further questioned how long it was since he acquired skill ; he answered it was about a year ago, and being again interrogate how he came by it, or if any person taught him, he answered that none taught him as to searching for holes, but that he saw people in the Main Land trying if they could find any in people & that many have tried for & found holes in cattle, & he having a sick child, began it, and found them & so practice it since, and as to using the herb he said that a Voice once said to him in his sleep that if he pulled that Herb in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost & make the patient drink of it would cure the same Distemper. Being asked further if he took any money for these cures he answered he took no more than a shilling Sterling from any, which he thought was little enough for his pains and being further asked if he always when he pulled herbs expressed foresaid words audibly. He answered he did. The Session took his confession to consideration and being straitned what judgement to make of such a practise they unanimously agreed to refer same to the Presbytery.

(Sess.) 13th June 1708

SEDR Mr Daniell Mc Lean Modr: Jam Hamilton, Don: Mc Nickoll, Jam: Mc Nickoll Elders.

After prayer.

It is Delated to the Session Janet Mc Ilpatrick and Effie Mc Kallan both in Maas (upon the third of this Instant being a day sett apart for publick thanksgiving) absented from the Church and Spent the day in using a Counter Charm (as they term it) for recovering Margaret Taylor there to health who was sick and pained att the Heart they performed in the manner following viz:—they took Lead and melted it, and being thin they poured it through a sieve into watter and reduced it to the form of a Heart they gave it to the

sd Margaret and bid her lye it about her neck, telling her that it would certainly and shortly ease her from her pain which the pretended was occasioned by witchcraft.

Wherefore they appointed to be summoned against next Dyett.

OVER half a century ago, I went into a byre, where there was a cow which had calved about a week before. This cow one of the farmer's daughters was going to milk. I looked into the luggie (a small wooden vessel) which she carried and saw in the centre of the bottom an oatmeal bannock, about the size of a five shilling piece. My boyish curiosity was aroused and I asked what it meant. She told me with much gesticulation and Gaelic—that a farmer's wife in the neighbourhood had bewitched the cow, so that it would not give its milk, but she was going to break the spell.

EVEN as late as thirty years ago, it was not uncommon for fishermen, when on a trip, to boil pins in a pot to keep away the witches.

IF a witch can get the name of a cow or a hair from her tail, and also see the milk, she can transfer that cow's produce to her own cow.

A MAN in Shisken was once sowing corn, and on resting he noticed a small beetle taking his seeds of corn from his land to his neighbour's. Knowing it to be witchcraft, he captured the beetle and put it in his snuff-box. For several days his neighbour's wife was absent and no one knew where she was. When he opened the snuff-box, out she sprang.

THE CLACHLANDS WITCH

A very old story is told of a witch who lived at the Clachlands, and is as follows:—

It chanced one day that the natives noticed a ship in full sail passing up the Firth. It was said to be part of the Spanish Armada. A certain old woman lived at the Clachlands who, as it is said, possessed the power of witchcraft.

The natives had no heavy guns or artillery to direct on the ship, but to this woman they went with all haste in order that she might

‘cronach’ or play her devilry on it. They found the woman (their frail bit of artillery) in such an enfeebled state as to be unable to leave the house, but willing hands carried her out to where she could get a good view of her enemies. After scanning the Firth and looking at the object of the consternation for some time, she turned to her comrades and with an air of satisfaction she remarked ‘*Tha air bàrr a’ chroinn na dh’ fhdghnas i*’ (There is on the top of the mast that will suffice her).

She had seen the devil at the mast-head in shape of a large cat, or something of that description, weaving a mystic web to play destruction with the fleet which was so shortly to reach its doom.

The following extract from the Session Records of Kilmore will illustrate one of the superstitious customs of the Highlands. It was by no means peculiar to this island.

SESSION AT CLACHAN, *September 4, 1709.*—Janet Hunter being formally summoned, and called, compeared, and being questioned anent the report that was given forth on her, that she used a charm for the discovery of theft, by turning the riddle, she plainly confessed that she did use it; and being further interrogate what words she used, she replied that she used no words; and being asked if she did not say, ‘by Peter, by Paul, it was such a person,’ she replied that she did use these words, and none else; and being further interrogate, if the riddle did turn at the naming of any of those persons suspected, she replied that it did actually turn at the naming of one; and being interrogate farther, who employed her, she replied it was Barbara M’Murchie in the same town, who employed her; and she being farther interrogate, if she had any other body with her at the said exorcite, she replied that there was one Florence M’Donald, servitrix to Hector M’Alister here, who was holding the side of the shears with her. It being farther interrogate, if she thought there was any fault or sin in it, she replied that she thought there was none in it, seeing she used no bad words; and she being farther interrogate if she knew who it was that turned the riddle, she answered that she did not know; but declared that it was not she, nor the other who held it with her, so far as she knew; and it being told her that if neither of them two turned it, that it behoved

to be either God or the devil that turned it ; to which she replied that she did not think it was God, and she hoped it was not the devil ; wherefore the minister laboured to convince her of the horrid sin of this hellish art, and the heinousness of it, and how she had gone to the devil to get knowledge of secret things, and how she might be guilty of blaming innocent persons, and exhorting her to lay her sin to heart and repent, she was removed. And the session taking her confession into consideration, with the hatefulness of the wicked practice, and after mature deliberation, having the advice of the Presbytery, on the like affair, they do unanimously appoint her to make her compearance before the congregation three several Sabbaths, to give evidence of her repentance, and for the terror of others that use such acts, they refer her to the civil magistrate, to be punished as shall be thought fit by him, either corporally or pecunially ; and she being called in again this was intimate unto her.'

THE last person in the Shisken district who made use of a twig of mountain ash to protect his cows from witchcraft, or the evil-eye, was James M'A——, a cottar, who died about forty years ago. It was his custom to tie a piece of mountain ash to their tails with a red string.

ONCE there lived at Beinnecarrigan a famous man of skill whose aid was very frequently sought when beasts of pasture or horses had been 'harmed' through witchcraft. On one occasion a horse had thus been injured, and a messenger was dispatched to him for a counter-charm. The man made a mixture and poured it into a bottle, warning the messenger on no account to withdraw the cork from the bottle on the way. The daughter of Eve who had gone on the errand was overcome on the way by an irresistible desire to know what the bottle contained ; she took out the cork and tasted the contents. The horse was sprinkled with the compound as directed, but without any effect. Word was then sent to the cure-maker to come. On arriving he at once stated that the cure given had been tampered with ; and proceeded to make up a fresh mixture. When this was done he passed it nine times round his head and applied it to the horse, pouring a few drops into the ears ; what remained of the mixture was thrown into the kitchen fire. In a few minutes the horse

was quite well. The preparation was said to be composed of soot, salt, and water.

As a preventative against witchcraft, it was not uncommon in Shisken district, within the last fifty years, to place a sprig of rowan above the byre-door and also to tie a sprig of the same tree to the cow's tail.

AT Tigh-an-Fhraoich, Shisken, with the same object, some quicksilver was placed inside a hollow stick (the stick being hollowed out as boys do to make whistles), and the stick was then placed under one of the flagstones in the byre.

This was done within the last fifty years.

WHEN a cow was supposed to have been bewitched some soot was swept down from the chimney on to an ash-tray (the kind made of calves-skin stretched on a hoop like the side of a drum) and mixed with salt. This mixture was then made into three little balls which were administered to the cow inside a kail-blade. The kail-blade was to give the mixture a relish. Then some salt was put into a bowl of water along with a gold ring, a sixpenny piece and sometimes a piece of coal, and the water after being stirred was sprinkled in the form of a cross on the cow from its head to its tail. Some of the water was also placed in the cow's ears, and then the remainder—after the ring and the sixpenny piece had been abstracted—was cast into the cinders at the back of the fireplace.

During the course of these operations, the skilled administrator uttered a Gaelic rhyme signifying—

If they 've eaten you, let them spue you.

I have seen this practised at Feorline within the last sixty years. I have also known the ceremony—excluding the eating of the soot and salt mixture—practised in Ayr by a Shisken woman upon a young married woman who was supposed to be unwell, within the last forty-five years.

AN INCIDENT OF 1868-69

A cow took very ill, and all ordinary remedies failed ; the farmer's wife was an old lady in the sixties—and her husband was a man apart,

who scorned the idea of charms and other preternatural agencies. His wife longed to call in the aid of the supernatural to save 'Crummie,' but she dare not suggest such a thing. For a time she was at a loss what to do, but finally her woman's wit came to her aid. She thought she would go some distance to gather an herb, which was one of the ordinary household simples.

This managing old lady took me with her for company and we set forth, climbing a hill and then keeping along the ridge, until we came to a deep ravine. Then we threaded our way through the pines to a little thatched cottage, wherein a very old woman lived. I was told she was 'A Wise Woman.' She asked a great many questions about me, and gave me a 'piece and sugar'—and said in Gaelic that I was bonny and clever and so like my father. Then the two old ladies talked softly and mysteriously, and my old lady gave the other one something. After a bit 'The Wise Woman' brought out a black quart bottle, muttered some words and gave it to the other, telling her to wrap it in her shawl and let no one cast eyes upon it. We were also told to speak to no one all the way home, and when we got there the cow was to get the contents of the bottle. We returned home, avoiding the roads and keeping far from houses, and the farmer's wife got her own brother and his sons to administer the dose as a cure they could vouch for. I don't know whether they knew whence it came or not. However, the cow improved greatly, and in a few days was completely restored.

The following story is from a man who, while quite a boy, helped to perform the operation on a horse that had grown indifferent to food.

After several treatments had been applied, the smith, who was the specialist in diseases relating to animals diagnosed the disease as witchcraft, and prescribed *èdlas-cronach* as a cure. This *èdlas-cronach* was obtainable from an old woman who resided near Whiting Bay. It was supposed to be a certain cure for witchcraft. It contained water, salt, and a large needle, but whether there had been more in it or not my informant could not say. The dish that held it was a wooden ladle. The process consisted of sprinkling this preparation on both the animal's shoulders, the ribs on both sides,

and the hips on both sides. After this was done a lighted candle was taken and a part of the hair burned at each place sprinkled. The lighted candle was then passed through under the beast's body and over its back three times in succession, commencing near the shoulders and finishing near the hips. A person stood on each side of the beast, and the candle was handed from the one to the other, completing the circle in this way.

It may be stated the beast got over the malady and improved afterwards. This happened within the last fifty years.

A BOOT tacket or nail was often put in the wood at the mouth of a churn to keep the witches away or from interfering with the butter-making. Sometimes the butter took a long time to come on the milk. This the natives believed to be the doings of witches. When such was the case, the following is what they did to make the witch loose her spell. It may be mentioned the churn most in use in those days was like a narrow barrel placed on end. In this the milk was poured and churned with a float which was perforated and made to suit the diameter of the churn; to it was attached a long handle for working it up and down.

A person the name of M'Farlane was passing a farm-house one day and asked for a drink of milk while it was in the half-churned state. This was refused him. As revenge for this refusal he put some meal or something into the churn, which prevented the butter from coming on it. This seems to be the basis of the rhyme and method of spoiling the witches' spell. When the gudewife got suspicious that the witches were near, owing to the prolonged absence of the butter, the household were called in to aid her. (Of course churning in this way, it was necessary for two or three to be at it, the one to relieve the other.) First, then, one person took the churn, and while he or she worked the float, he or she chanted the following :

' M'Farlane sought a drink of milk ; (Fither an ninnty nandy)
He sought a drink and he got none ; (Fither an ninnty nandy).
Fither an ninnty, ninnty, ninnty, ninnty, ninnty, nandy ' ;

at the same time keeping time with the stroke of the churn. When this person was finished he dropped off and another took his place with the same performance. All the while the first person kept going round the churn chanting the same rhyme. When the second

was finished the third took his place, the second catching hands with the first and chanting the same, and so on till a circle was formed round the churn much the same as 'ging-go-ring.'

This was within the last fifty years.

VI

CURES

Cures by Black Art

The art of healing in Arran was practised by two different kinds of persons—those who could cure illness in animals caused by evil-eye or witchcraft and who had what was called in Arran '*Eòlas a' Chronachaidh*'¹ or the 'knowledge of re-proof'; and those who by unholy art could cure diseases beyond the power of the regular doctor. One fatal effect followed every cure: the first living thing on which the eye of the performer alighted fell down dead.

A FAMOUS woman, *Seana bhean Thorralin*, the old woman of Torrylin, had been over at Lamlash effecting a cure. On her way home, no living thing came under her eye. When she reached Corrychaim in Glen Scorradaile, she suddenly came upon a relative of her own, a William M'Kinnon, who with his son and four horses were ploughing. On seeing them she cried out, 'Och! William, sore, sore is my heart that thou shouldst be the first to come under my eye.' Her regret was useless, however, as both men with their horses fell dead. The plough was never touched but left in the unfinished furrow. It is said that about thirty years ago the irons of a wooden plough were found on the spot where tradition has said the tragedy occurred. This William M'Kinnon lived about two hundred years ago.

AN DOTAIR BÀN AGUS MAC A' GHÀIDSEIR

Bho chionn fada bha Gàidsear àraidh a' còmhnuidh an Loch Raonasa aig an robh aon mhac. Thuit gu'n do leagadh sìos an gille so le tinneas trom, agus chleachdadh gach oidheirp a chum a shlàn-

¹ See note on previous section.

achadh. Bha gach seana chailleach a bha 'còmhnuidh aig ceann mu thuath Arainn a' feuchainn cungaidd-leighis, ach an àite do'n òganach a bhi 'dol am feothas's ann a bha e an sìor dhol ni bu mhiosa. Mu dheireadh, nuair a dh'fhàilnich gach meadhon a chleachd iad, thubhairt iad ri athair a' bhalaich e 'chur fios gu Seideig air an Dotair Bhàn, agus ma tha math an dàn, faodaidh e bhi gu'n leighis e an gille, 's mur leighis cha bhi aobhar criomchaig anns a' chùis. Ghabh athair an òganaich an comhairle, agus moch air an là'r-namhàireach chuir e gille òg a bha'nns a' choimhearsnachd air druim a' chapuill bhuidhe aige fhéin agus air an dearg chuthach gabhar an gille sìos gu Seideig air tòir an Dotair Bhàn. Bha an Dotair ainmeil mar lighiche agus bha e air aithris uime gu'n d'fhuair e 'fhòghlum o na sibhrich a bha 'còmhnuidh fo thòrr a' chaisteil, agus gu'n d'fhuair e 'eolas a' chronachaidh' ¹ o sheana chailleach mhór Thorralfn. Nuair a ràinig an gille an Tormòr thachair sean duine air a bha 'g iomain nam bó thun a' mhonaidh, 'C'àite,' ars' an sean duine 'am bheil thu 'dol a nis le leithid a dheifir air maduinn na Sàbaide?' Fhreagair an gille, 'Tha mac a' Ghàidseir an Loch Raonasa air choslas a bhi dlùthachadh air a' bhàs, agus tha mi 'dol air tòir an Dotair Bhàn.' 'Is duilich leam sin a chluinntinn,' ars' an sean duine, 'ach feumaidh tu an aire 'thoirt dhuit fhéin air an turus air am bheil thu. Chomhairlichinn duit bad caorainn a chur am bun earball a' chapuill bhuidhe, cleith math calltuinn a bhi agad 'n ad dhòrn, 'us ma mhothaicheas thu laigse cridhe no cuirp a' tighinn ort, abair 'cronachas do shùla ort'; ² 'us bi cinnteach nach leig thu leis an Dotair a' cheud sealladh fhaotainn air taigh a' Ghàidseir, air neo ma gheibh, agus ma leighiseas e a mhac, gheibh thusa bàs.' Thug an gille buidheachas do'n bhodach, gheall e gu'm biodh e air 'fhaicill, 'us ghabh e a rathad. Fhuair e an Dotair aig baile, agus bha e glé dheònach a dhol leis. Dh'fhalbh iad an cuideachd a' chéile—an Dotair air gearran beag, ròineach, glas, agus an gille air thoiseach a' deanadh an rathaid. Nuair a ràinig iad Bealach-an-iomachair dh'fheuch an Dotair an ceum toisich fhaotainn, ach thug am balach buille bheag do'n chapull am bun no cluaise, 'is dh'fhàg e an gearran glas air dheireadh. Nuair

¹ 'Cronachadh' here means incantation or exorcism, and 'eolas a' chronachaidh,' a counter charm against the evil eye.

² Let the evil of thine own be upon thyself. Cronachas means a rebuke.

a ràinig iad Bealach-a-chrò mhothaich an t-òganach a chridhe 'fàs fann, agus a chorp a' fàs cho lag ris an luachair. 'Cronachas do shùla ort,' ars an gille, is cha luaithe 'thubhairt na mhothaich e mar gu'm biodh uallach air a thogail dheth. Air dhaibh abhainn Chatacoil a ruigheachd thubhairt an Dotair, 'O'n tha leithid a dheifir anns a' chùis, 'us gun aobhar deifir ortsa, deanamaid malairt each.' 'Gu'n robh math agaibh,' ars' an gille, 'ach 's feumaile mo bheatha fhéin dhomhsa na beatha neach eile.'¹ Thug e buille eile do'n chapull bhuidhe, is lean e roimhe gun mhoille gus an robh taigh a' Gháidseir an sealladh. Air do'n Dotair an taigh a ruigheachd. 'Carson,' ars esan ris a' Gháidseir, is e làn feirge, 'a chuir thu fios ormsa le neach a bha cho eòlach rium fhéin?—cha 'n urrainn mi nì sam bith a dheanadh airson do mhic.' Mar thubhairt b'fhìor—shiubhail mac a' Gháidseir goirid an dhéidh sin.

THE DOCTOR BÀN AND THE GAUGER'S SON

A long time ago a certain Gauger lived in Loch Ranza who had one son. It happened that this lad was laid down with a heavy illness, and every means were used towards his healing. Every old wife that resided in the north end of Arran tried her healing-art, but instead of the youth getting better, he was continually getting worse. At last when every means which they had used failed, they said to the boy's father to send a message to Shedag for the Doctor Bàn, and if good is in store, it may be that he will heal the lad, and if not, there will be no cause for recrimination in the matter. The youth's father took their advice, and early next day he sent a young lad who was in the neighbourhood on the back of his own yellow mare, and in a mad gallop off went the lad to Shedag in search of the Doctor Bàn. The Doctor was namely as a physician, and it was said of him that he got his learning from the fairies that lived under the castle hill, and that he obtained the 'skill of rebuking' from the big old wife of Torlin. When the lad reached Tormore an old man met him who was putting the cows to the hill. 'Where,' said the old man, 'are you going now in such a hurry on the Sabbath morning?' The lad answered, 'The Gauger's son at Loch Ranza to all appearance is approaching death, and I am going in search of the Doctor Bàn.'

¹ The preservation of my own life is more to me than the life of another.

‘I am sorry to hear that,’ said the old man; ‘but you must take heed to yourself on the journey on which you are. I would advise you to put a bunch of rowans at the root of the yellow mare’s tail, to have a good hazel stick in your fist, and if you feel a weakness of heart or body coming on you, say, “The evil of thine eye be upon thee,” and be sure you will not allow the Doctor Bàn to get the first sight of the Gauger’s house, or else if he will, and that he heals his son, you will die.’

The lad gave thanks to the old man, promised that he would be on his guard, and took his way. He found the Doctor at home, and he was willing enough to go with him. They went in the company of each other—the Doctor on a grey shaggy pony, and the lad leading the way in front. When they reached Bealach-an-ìomachair the Doctor endeavoured to get the lead, but the lad gave a blow to the mare at the root of the ear, and left the grey pony behind. When they reached Bealach-a-chrò the youth felt his heart getting faint and his body getting as weak as a rush. ‘The evil of thine eye be upon thee,’ said the lad, and no sooner said than he felt as if a load was lifted off him. Having reached Caticol burn the Doctor said, ‘Since there is such haste in the matter, and that you have no cause for haste, let us make an exchange of horses.’ ‘Thank you,’ said the lad, ‘but my own life is more necessary to myself than the life of another.’ He gave another blow to the yellow mare, and continued on without delay until the Gauger’s house was in sight.

On the Doctor arriving at the house, ‘Why,’ said he to the Gauger, full of anger, ‘did you send for me by one who was as skilful as myself. I cannot do anything for your son?’ True, as he said—the Gauger’s son died shortly thereafter.

It is said of Dr. M’Larty, who lived nearly two hundred years ago and who was famous for his cures, that he got his education from the fairies. He was born at Corriecravie, and the first day he went to school he was met by a little green-coated man who took him to a fairy school underneath Tòrr a’Chaisteil, a prehistoric mound at Corriecravie, and there secretly educated him.

A CURE for measles and whooping-cough was to seek out among the hills a saucer-shaped stone which held water. With the water thus

found the patient sprinkled himself, and in some cases took three sips of it. It was an essential part of the cure that the stone should be found and the cure performed at a place from which the sea was invisible from any part of the compass.

HUMAN hair cut off the head should be burnt, lest the birds should get it for their nests, thereby causing headaches to the person whose hair it was.

WATER, salt, and soot were given for sick headaches. Three sips were taken, and a cross made upon the forehead and also on the back of the head with the middle finger, which had been dipped in the compound.

Cure for Rheumatism

It was quite customary in Arran for people prone to rheumatism to carry a small potato in their pockets as a safeguard against and cure for that painful trouble. I have known a Shisken man do this within the last three years.

[This may be said to be still a living superstition. Strictly the potato should be a stolen one. The association of certain roots with cures is ancient and universal. The illness is supposed to be the work of evil spirits. The Bengoes of Africa believe, as the Greeks of Homer did, that 'certain roots ward off the evil influence of spirits.']

FOLK MEDICINE (OR CURES)

Spider-webs were used to stop hæmorrhage. Ash or rowan bark was used as a poultice in adder bites. The oil made from the liver of the porpoise was rubbed on sprained joints.

In 'sty' of the eyelid a rub of the cat's tail was supposed to be efficacious, and the first spittle in the morning was a cure for sore eyes.

There was a [cure]—but I forget what it was for—possibly thirst—and that was to catch a snail and impale it on a thorn in the hedge. I am subject to correction here. Another cure for thirst was to lift a stone, spit below it, and carefully replace the stone.

Salt water was looked upon as a very good cure for many ailments.

A friend of mine had a sore knee, and he was advised to get some

frog spawn, fill a bottle with it and bury it in the earth. An old man I knew—he was an Irish road-mender, and he cured his sore eyes by washing them with a decoction of bishop-weed. The fluid was sprinkled over and across the eyes with a little bunch of the leaves, *the patient gazing steadfastly at the setting sun the while.*

When a tooth was extracted it had to be given to the patient to be thrown over his left shoulder. This was very important.

The sacrifice of a live black cock, which must be buried at the spot where the person had the first fit, is a sure cure for epilepsy.

[Or the cock should be buried below the patient's bed. Among the Greeks the cock was sacred to Esculapius, the god of medicine, and the philosopher Socrates at his death desired that a cock should be sacrificed to that divine healer.]

‘I HAD like to have forgot a valuable curiosity in this isle which they call Baul Muluy, *i.e.* Molingus his stone globe. This saint was chaplain to Maedonald of the Isles. His name is celebrated here on the account of this globe, so much esteemed by the inhabitants. This stone for its intrinsic value has been carefully transmitted to posterity for several ages. It is a green stone, much like a globe in figure, about the bigness of a goose egg.

‘The virtue of it is to remove stitches from the side of sick persons, by laying it close to the place affected; and if the patient does not outlive the distemper, they say the stone removes out of the bed of its own accord, and *e contra*. The natives use this stone for swearing decisive oaths upon it.

‘They ascribe another extraordinary virtue to it, and it is this: The credulous vulgar firmly believe that if this stone is cast among the front of an enemy they will all run away;¹ and that as often as the enemy rallies, if this stone is cast among them, they still lose courage, and retire. They say that Maedonald of the Isles carried this stone about him, and that victory was always on his side when he threw it among the enemy. The custody of this globe is the peculiar privilege of a little family called Clan-Chattons, *alias* Macintosh. They were ancient followers of Maedonald of the Isles. This stone is now in the custody of Margaret Miller *alias* Macintosh. She lives in Baell-

¹ This is the ‘victory-stone’ of Scandinavian lore.

mianich, and preserves the globe with abundance of care. It is wrapped up in fair linen cloth, and about that there is a piece of woollen cloth; and she keeps it locked up in her chest, when it is not given out to exert its qualities.'¹

[There were several of these or similar stones in the Highlands. The *Clach a' Chrùbain* cured diseases of the joints. Pennant says it was a fossil gryphite, a geologic species of oyster. In Tiree is the *Clach a' Greimhich*, the Gripe Stone (Campbell's *Witchcraft, etc.*, p. 93). Campbell gives other examples.]

VII

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

It was common, if any one wanted to be introduced to a lass that he had taken a notion of, to take a mutual friend with him to act as 'go between.' And this mutual friend was termed the 'blackfoot.' It sometimes happened in the case of a backward wooer that the blackfoot himself found his way to the heart of the fair one, and then the 'blackfoot' was said to have turned out to be the 'whitefoot.' When a girl got engaged to be married, the news spread quickly around among neighbours and friends, and they used to gather to the girl's house in the evenings, lads and lasses from all the houses round about, and help to tease the wool for her blankets. This wool was afterwards sent to the carding-mill to be carded and made into 'rowans,' and the rowans were spun into thread by the girl and her friends, which thread was sent off to the weaver and woven into blankets. This was quite a common custom in my boyhood, and may be still.

THERE is one custom to which I think it is worth while to draw attention, namely 'booking.' Before a marriage could take place a meeting was arranged between the parties to the contract and their friends. I do not know whether any of the elders or the minister were there, or whether there was signing of books. But the custom to which I wish to call attention was this: After the party was assembled the bride-elect say, or the bridegroom-elect, waited and

¹ A *Description of the Western Isles of Scotland*, by Martin Martin (c. 1695), pp. 225, 226.

had ever so many of the company taken in to their, his or her, presence as would-be suitors. Some one, generally a wit of some sort—the ‘blackfoot’—was chosen to present the suitors, and if it was the lad who was waiting he would bring in the lasses and married wives too—it didn’t matter. The introducer would say something like, ‘Here’s a nice young lass now, will you take her for your wife?’ ‘No,’ the lad would say, ‘I’ll not have her, because——’ then he gave his reason; she was too fat or too lean, too tall or too short, she had a squint, etc., etc., or any fault he could think of. The fun was carried on with great good humour and the best of spirits; roars of laughter greeting the quaint remarks of the one chosen to do the introducing, or the awkward excuses which the hard plied and embarrassed youth would sometimes give as a reason why he would not marry each one till the real one was taken before him. This one, he would say, had all the good looks he would like to see his wife possessed of, and so he would marry her. The same was gone through then with regard to the girl, and of course the greatest scope was given for the exercise of the humour of the introducer, who with less feeling or less fear of hurting the feelings of the lads, ran over all their recommendations, mostly invented for the occasion. Each would be refused in turn till the right lad was brought in at last.

First Footing.—A fair man was not welcome as a ‘first foot’ on the morning of the New Year, neither was a flat-footed man.

Baptism.—When a child was born the mother was never wanted in any house until her child had been baptized, as her entry meant very bad luck for the house so entered.

Regarding people who walked in their sleep, it was said that they had not had sufficient water applied at baptism; and for a cure the water which was left after the christening of an infant was dashed in the face of the somnambulist.

Courtship.—When a young man took an unreturned fancy to a young woman, and his aberration caused him to neglect his daily tasks, the chemise of the young woman was procured, generally by a parent, and put upon him, by way of curing him. (An instance of this being done about ninety years ago is reported.)

AGRICULTURAL CUSTOMS ¹

Ploughing.—Immediately before beginning the spring labour, just when the horses were yoked to the plough and on the very spot of the farm where they were to begin the work of the season, the horses' harness and plough were three times carefully besprinkled with water in which some salt had been dissolved, and a little of the same solution was then poured into the horses' ears. After this last part of the ceremony had been gone through, the spring labour was considered to have been duly inaugurated. This ceremony was performed in the island of Arran within the last ninety years.²

SEAN-FHACAIL MU'N AIMSIR

WEATHER PROVERBS

Ma chuireas gobag ³ thun an doruis, cuiridh damhag air an tòrran.
If gobag sends to the door, damhag will send to the dunghill.

Damhag bheag—mathair fhaoilteach ⁴ fuar,
'S minig a mharbh i caora 'us uan.

Little damhag—mother of cold and stormy weather
Oft has she killed sheep and lamb.

Ma chuireas gobag dhìot do chòta
Cuiridh damhag air theas thun na beinne.

If gobag puts off your coat
Damhag will send (the cattle) with heat to the hill.

Cha tig fuachd gus an tig Earrach,
Cruas no daor cheannach.

Cold cometh not until spring,
Hardship or dear buying.

¹ *Folk Lore*, vol. xi. (1900); *Folklore from the Hebrides*, part iv. p. 439

² It was an ancient custom to mix salt with the fodder of cattle. Isa. xxx. 24, 'clean provender,' or 'salted food'; margin of R.V. 'salted.'

³ Gobag was the six days before St. Patrick's Day, and Damhag the six days following.

⁴ The last fortnight of winter and the first fortnight of spring.

'S mairg a chaill a chomh-aois bliadhna 'n ¹ Earraich ghràinde.

Pity on one who lost his co-equal in age in the year of the ill-favoured spring.

Samhuinn ghiobach,² 's Bealltuinn lóm

A rough Hallowe'en and a bare May-day.

MOTHER, MOTHER, THE BANNOCK 'S BURNING ³

A girl's game played in Arran. Any number take part, and the most womanly is generally chosen to be 'mother.' A house is made by enclosing a space with lines of small stones, and the mother orders another of the girls to remain in charge of it, while she herself and the others retire to some little distance. When they are sufficiently far away the housekeeper shouts, 'Mother, mother, the bannock 's burning.' The mother answers, 'Take the spoon and turn it.' 'The spoon is broken.' 'Take the knife.' 'The knife is broken.' 'Take the fork.' 'The fork is broken; everything in the house is broken.' On hearing this the mother and all the rest rush for the house, and the one last to reach it becomes housekeeper for another game.

It was considered unlucky to let the peat fire go out or to give a kindling to any person who borrowed the same. But one woman in particular seemed to brave whatever consequences might come, as she gave rekindlings to all and sundry who might come her way, thus being a fire merchant in her own way, and a public benefactress to her more superstitious neighbours.

It was considered unlucky to borrow salt from a neighbour during Christmas week.

It was considered unlucky to spill salt; if you did so a quantity thrown over the left shoulder was an antidote for the evil that might come.

It was considered unlucky for a hare to cross your path, and cases have been known where the person had this misfortune happen to him to go a long way out of his intended course to avoid this.

¹ The saying points to a spring of unusual severity—probably the plague.

² Said of those who were not careful of their fodder in early winter.

³ *Folk Lore*, vol. xvii. (1906), p. 103.

It was, until very recently, considered unlucky to meet some people when going upon a journey, or about some pursuits. Fishermen frequently turned home again if they met people of a dark complexion, or possessors of flat feet, and sometimes those of certain surnames. To follow their calling, they said, would not only yield them no luck, but might endanger their lives.

CHAPTER XIII

GAELIC SONGS OF ARRAN

ARAINN BHEAG BHOIDHEACH ¹

O ARAINN bheag bhòidheach !
'S grinn do chleòca 's an t-samhradh,
Tha do bhruthain làn neoinein
'S do mhòinteach làn ceann-dubh.²

Tha do bhrìc bhallach dhùbh-ghorm
Ri cùrsachd troimh d' aibhne'an
'Sa chuthag rìomhach, cuir smùid dith
A' tigh'nn an dlùths air a' bhealtuinn.

Do fhraoch badanach cùbhraidh,
'S mìl 'na driùchd air gach ceann dheth,
Cnothan abuich, 's iad dùbailt
A' lùbadh do challtuinn.

BONNIE LITTLE ARRAN

O ! BONNIE little Arran,
Grand is thy mantle in summer,
Thy braes full of daisies
And thy moorlands of canach.

Thy trout spotted and dark blue
Sporting briskly in thy waters,
And the bonnie cuckoo letting off its steam
As the summer approached.

¹ Said to have been composed by Donald Currie 'at the fishing.'

² 'Ceann-dubh' would seem to be misapplied here, as the 'Canach' is pure white ;
but it is the black head, before the white down grows on it.

Thy heather so bunchy and fragrant
 With honey in drops on each head,
 Ripe nuts and in clusters
 Bending the hazel branches.

MARBH-RANN ¹

CHaidh an Comunn, chaidh an Comunn, chaidh an Comunn air chùl,
 'S gur coma gach comunn ach an comunn bhios fìor,
 Chaidh an comunn o chéile, dh'fhàg sud deurach mo shùil,
 'S gu 'm b'è luinnsearachd Sheumais bu neo-aoibhneach dhuinn.

B'e do thurus gu Ile 's a' mhìos roimh 'n a' Mhàirt
 Dh'fhàg muldach m'inntinn o nach till thu gu bràth,
 O 'n a thug iad thu thairis gu eilean Da-bhàrr,
 Is d' fhàgail air cladach mar bhradan air tràigh.

'Se Seumas MacDhaidhidh a chreach sinn gu bràth,
 O 'n a thug e thu thairis gu eilean Da-bhàrr,
 'S o nach tilleadh e dhachaidh agus aithris mar bha,
 Bhiodh na ciadan gun mhailis ² a mach mu do bhàs.

Bha thu foinnidh, deas, dìreach, 's bu ròghail do chainnt,
 Bha do thlachd anns an fhìrinn, 's do mhi-thlachd 's a' cheilg,
 D' fhalt buidhe 's e amlagach, bachlagach, clann,
 Sùil bu ghùirme bha daite glé mheallach 'n ad cheann.

'S iomadh ban-tighearn ròmhach le sìod agus sròl,
 Eadar Arainn 'us Ile 'us Cinntìre nam bó,
 A bheircadh an saoghal 's d' fhaotainn-sa beo,
 'S iad uile glé thùrsach o 'n a chaochail thu òg.

Tha d'athair 's do mhàthair gach là 's iad fo ghruaim,
 Gun nì air an t-saoghal a nì' chaldach so suas,
 Gus an ruig iad an t-àite 's am fògrar gach gruaim,
 Far nach inntir deur sàrach gu bràth air an gruaidh,

¹ The above verses were composed on the death of a young Arran gentleman who was drowned in Campbeltown loch about the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was suspected that he was thrown overboard by the captain of a cutter in which he happened to be at the time, in order to obtain possession of the unfortunate man's sister, who also was on board. Cf. p. 112.

² Delay.

O! 's mairg nach ròghnaicheadh companaich fhìor,
 Air am biodh eagal an Tighearn air muir 'us air tìr,
 Bhiodh 'aran dha deimhinn agus 'uisge dha fìor,
 'S air deireadh a làithean bhiodh aige deagh chrìoch

ELEGY

THE company, the company, the company is dissolved,
 Unworthy the company, but the company that 's true,
 The company has parted—that left my eye in tears,
 'Twas the heartlessness of James that left us in sorrow.

'Twas thy journey to Islay the month prior to March
 That left me so sad, since thou wilt never return,
 And since they took thee away to Island Davaar
 And left thee stranded like a salmon on the shore.

'Twas James Davidson that for ever deprived us,
 Since he took thee away to Island Davaar,
 And returned not home to relate how it was,
 Hundreds, without delay, would be out about thy death.

Handsome and shapely thy form, and royal thy speech,
 In truth was thy pleasure, thy displeasure in deceit,
 Thy yellow hair so curly, wavy, and bunehy,
 Thy bright blue eye so winning in thy head.

Many a lady dressed in silk and grandeur,
 'Twixt Arran and Islay, and Kintyre of the kine,
 Would give the world to have thee as their own,
 And they all in sorrow, since young thou didst die.

Thy father and mother are each day under grief,
 With nought in the world to compensate the loss,
 Until they reach the place whence all sorrow is dispelled,
 Where no bitter tear will ever moisten their cheek.

O! the pity on those who true companions don't choose,
 Who would fear the Lord on sea or on land,
 To him his bread would be sure and his water be pure,
 And at the end of his days he happy would be.

ORAN GAOIL

Rinneadh an t-òran so le Domhnall MacMhuirich air dha bhi air a ghlacadh
le Maraichean a' Chrùin ri àm Cogadh na Frainge.

NUAIR thàinig mi thairis bha mi 'm barail 's an dùil
Gu 'n deanainn mór bheairteas mur tachradh droch chùis,
Ach mu 'n d' fhuair mi air astar no mach as an dùthaich,
Chuir iad mi fo ghlasaibh mar ghaduich' no eù.

Chuir iad mi do 'n *phress-room*, agus ghlais iad mi ann,
Far an robh sinn mór chuideachd air ar cumail gu teann,
Le sùil¹ ar cur thairis do 'n armailt 's an Fhraing,
'S gun chridh' againn feuchainn am fàgail gun taing.

Thoir mo shoraidh uam thairis gu Arainn nam beann,
Agus innis do m' leannan mar thachair 's an àm,
Gu 'n deachaidh mo ghlacadh le gaisreadh² ro theann
Nach éisdeadh uam facal 's gun stàth dhomh bhi cainnt.

Ach o n' tha mi gu iosal 's nach leig iad mi 'n àird,
Ni mi litir a sgrìobhadh a dh'innseas mar tha,
'S nuair ruigeas i dachaidh cha 'n 'eil ag³ nach bi iad
Cho tùrsach 's a dh'fhaodas iad 's daoine aca slàn.

Ma tha 'n dàn domh 'dhol dachaidh gu Arainn nam beann,
Gus an dean mi, ghaoil, d' fhaicinn cha chaidil mi ann,
Cha chaidil mi uair 's cha tig suain air mo cheann
Gus am bi mi ri d' thaobh-sa gu sìobhalt' a' cainnt.

Ach ma bhios thusa cordte 'us pòsda fo 'n chléir
Mu 'n ruig mise dhachaidh 's gu 'm faighinn air sgeul,
Cha 'n fhaiccar mi 'n Arainn no 'm fagus do m' dhaoin'
'S a chaidh fhad 's is beò mi cha phòs mi aon té.

Làn mulaid 'us tiamhachd ni mi triall feadh an t-saoghail,
Gus an caith mi mo bhliadhnan am fiabhrus do ghaoil,
'S nuair theid iad uil' thairis bi'dh na rannan so fhéin
Aig daoine 'g an gabhail 's a' gal as mo dhéidh.

¹ With a view.

² Troops, meaning here the press-gang.

³ Doubt.

Tha do ghruaidh mar an caorann 's do mhala chaol mar it' eòin,
 Sùil mheallach 's bòidhech' sealladh rinn mo mhealladh 'n am òig',
 O'n' fhuair mi ort sealladh 'n àm gearradh na mòin'
 Cha dcach thu as m' aire 's gu'm b' aighearach sud dhomhs'.

Tha mi 'm barail nach bi thu fo mhi-ghean no tàir,
 Ged a thu'irt mi ruit leannan 's nach gabh thu dheth nàir',
 Nach gabh thu dheth doilgheas 's nach tog thu mi ecàrr
 Oir aig laigse na feòla bu bhòsd leam a ràdh.

Na bi thusa fo shraonais, a ghaoil, ged tha mi
 Air ro bheagan de 'n t-saoghal gun chaoraich gun mhaoin,
 Oir chualas mar fhìrinn mu ar sinnsir o thùs
 Nach d' fhuair iad mar thrusgan ach duilleach 's iad rùisgt'.

Ach ged nì iad mo chumail, 's mo chur thun nam blàr,
 'S ged 's éiginn domh fulang 'us m' fhuil thoirt gu làr,
 Cha dean mi ort dì-chuimhn', 's cha siolaidh mo ghràdh,
 'S a chaoidh fhad 's is beò mi gu'r math leam thu slàn.

LOVE SONG

BY D. CURRIE

Literal translation by J. Craig

WHEN first I came over I hoped and expected
 To gather great riches should no evil thing happen,
 But before I had travelled or had got out of the country,
 They put me in ward like a thief or a dog.

They put me into the press-room, and locked me there,
 Where we were a great company held by force,
 Intending to draft us into the army in France,
 And we durst not try to escape in spite of them.

Carry my compliments over to Arran of the bens,
 And tell my sweetheart how it all happened,
 That I have been captured and closely held by a crew
 Who would not listen to a word, my speech unavailing.

Since I am laid low and they won't let me rise,
 I shall write a letter to tell how I fare,
 When it reaches home no doubt they will be
 Sorrowful enough, and their own folk in health.

If it be my fate to go home to Arran of the bens,
 Until I see thee, my love, no sleep shall I take ;
 I shall not sleep for an hour, nor my eyes close in slumber
 Until I am beside thee, sweetly conversing.

But if thou be betrothed and lawfully married
 Before I reach home, and I come to hear of it,
 I shall not be seen in Arran, nor near my people,
 And while I live I shall never marry another.

Full of sorrow and melancholy I shall wander through the world,
 Till I spend my years in the fever of thy love,
 And when all is over, these verses of mine
 Will be sung by the people who will mourn for me.

Thy cheek like the rowan, thine eyebrows so slender,
 Winning, lovely eyes which beguiled me when young ;
 Since I first saw thee at peat-cutting time
 I have never forgotten thee, and glad was the vision to me.

I believe thou shalt neither be displeased nor disdainful
 Although I have called thee sweetheart, nor think it a shame,
 That thou shalt neither repent it nor take me up wrong,
 For thro' the weakness of the flesh I 'd be proud to say it.

Do not be offended, my love, though my possessions are few,
 Though I have neither sheep nor herds ;
 For we have heard as a truth of our ancestors of old,
 That no garment they had but a covering of leaves.

Although I be detained and sent to the war,
 And though I must suffer and shed my blood on the ground,
 I shall never forget thee nor my love get cold,
 And while life remains, I shall wish thee well.

ORAN EILE

A rinneadh le Domhnall MacMhurich, Baile-Mhicheil, 's an t-Seasgunn, air
 dha bhi air ghlacadh le Cuideachd luingeas Chogaidh an Grianais aig àm
 Cogadh na Frainge.

LA 's mi sràideas ann an Grianais
 'S gun mo smaointean air na biastan

'S ann a thàinig iad mar mhial-choin

'Us spìol iad mi gun tròcair.

Ha u rillean agus ho !

Ha u rillean agus ho !

I rillean agus hog i o

Mo chridhe trom 's mi brònach.

Thàinig fear dhiubh air gach taobh dhiom

'S iad le 'n lannan biorach geur leò

'Us thain' an treas fear as mo dhéidh

'S e feitheamh ri mo leònadh.

Ha u, etc.

'S o na chunnaic 'Bennie' 'chuideachd

'Ga mo shlaodadh leò air mhuineal

'S ann a ghlaodh e 'math na euraidh 'an

Cuireamaid air bòrd e.'

Ha u, etc.

Chuir iad mi do 'n gheola chaoil

'S dh'iomar iad mi gus an taobh

Is nach robh fear dhiubh air mo thaobh

'S e b'eiginn dhomh dol leotha.¹

Ha u, etc.

Nuair a ràinig sinn a guallainn

'S ann a ghlaodh iad rium dhol suas innt'

Air m' fhirinn-sa gu 'm b' e bu chruaidhe

Na bhi buain na mòine.

Ha u, etc.

Nuair a ràinig sinn air bòrd

Cha robh truas ac' do m' dheòir

Ach 's ann a mhionnaich iad mo sheòrs'

Gu 'n robh Deòrsa gann dhiubh.

Ha u, etc.

Thug iad sìos mi do na 'phress-room,'

'S bha gach aon dhiubh feòrachd ceist dhiom

'N do ghabh mi bunndaist, no 'n d' 'list' mi,

No 'n e 'm 'press' thug leò mi.

Ha u, etc.

¹ Locally pronounced *leócha*.

Ach dh'innis mise dhaibh an fhirinn
 Air dol leó nach robh mó smointean
 'S ged a fhuair iad mi 'n an iongan
 Nach robh mìr do dheòin orm.

Ha u, etc.

'S ged a fhuair mi deoch 'us biadh ann
 'S nach robh tùrn agam r'a dhianadh
 B' annsa leam bhi gu mo shliasaid
 Ann an sliabh na moine.

Ha u, etc.

Thoir mo shoraidh bhuam gu Raonull
 Agus innis mar a tha mi
 'S na 'n do ghabh mi' chomhairle tràth
 Nach robh mi 'n dràsd cho brònach.

Ha u, etc.

Translation

BY JAMES CRAIG, KILPATRICK, ARRAN

Song composed by Donald Currie, Balmichael, Shisken, on his being
 pressed at Greenock during the French War.

ONE day as I through Greenock strolled
 With careless heart and free,
 The cruel press-gang came like hounds
 And sorely worried me.

One came on either side of me
 With sharp and pointed sword,
 The third behind me ready came
 To stab me at a word.

When Captain Bennie saw his crew
 Thus seize me by the throat,
 He cried, 'Well done, my bully boys,
 Let 's heave him in the boat.'

They placed me in the narrow yawl
 And rowed me o'er the tide,
 I had perforce to go with them
 Since none were on my side.

THE BOOK OF ARRAN

When to the ship's lee bow we came,
 'Come, jump on board,' they cried,
 'Twas harder, faith, than cutting peats
 The task which then I tried.

On deck they cared not for my tears,
 But cursed my tribe, and swore
 King George had need of all my sort,
 And many thousands more.

They questioned me both one and all,
 When to the press-room brought,
 Had I the bounty ta'en, or had
 Been by the press-gang caught.

Howe'er, I told the honest truth
 To all they did inquire,
 Although they got me in their grips
 Yet small was my desire.

And though I got both meat and drink,
 And had no work to do,
 Thigh deep I 'd rather work in bogs
 Than sail with such a crew.

To Ronald¹ take my love, I pray,
 And tell him how I fare,
 Had I ta'en his advice in time,
 Less grief were now my share.

AN SAOGHAL

LE IAIN MACFHIONGHUIN²

A SHAOGHAIL bhreugaich nam bradag, 's neo-chneasda leam thu,
 Am fear an diugh aig am bi thu bheir thu 'n tiota ris cùl,
 Mar spéicibh na cartach 'nan deann ruith gun sgìos,
 Am fear a nis th' air uachdair air an uairs' bi' e shìos.

¹ Ronald M'Master, a neighbour, who had advised him not to go to Greenock on account of the presence of the press-gang.

² John MacKinnon, the author of the two hymns 'Am Bàs' and 'An Saoghal,' was a school-teacher by profession, and lived in Birchburn, Shisken, about the middle of the eighteenth century. He was known as an 'T-iarla' (the Earl), for what reason is not now known. The local Gaelic pronunciation of the name is 'MacKennan.'

Ni an seilean gu seòlta a stòr a chur cruinn,
 A' tional a stòrais feadh fhrògan 'us ghlinn,
 Cha dean puinnsean a shorbadh, ach deoghlaidh e 'mhil
 Mar sin deanadh an t-òglach 's gach còmh-dhail 's an tig.

An aitim a leanas gun mhailis an t-Uan,
 Troimh thiugh 'us tro' thana gu còrsaibh na h-uaigne,
 Bi' an oibribh 'g an leantuinn le toradh 'us buaidh,
 'S bi' an solus a' deàrrsadh 's iad à' enàmh anns an uaigh.

'Na bhaidealaibh lasrach ged rachadh an saogh'l,
 'S gach caisteal 'us daighneach air am baitreadh le aol,
 An aitim a naisg riut an anam 's an gaol,
 Cha bhi iad sud bàite ann an gàbhadh no baogh'l.

O 'n àm chaidh an réite a dheanadh le Ios',
 Tha carbad a ghràidh ruith gach là gun aon sgios,
 Ag aiseag a chàirdean gu sabhailt gu Tìr
 Far nach bi iad 'n an tràillibh fo mhàl no fo chìs.

Am feadh bhios mi air fàrdail am fàsach an t-saoghail,
 Cuir fàl de do ghràdh gu mo dhìon o gach beum,
 'Us coimhid mi tearuint'le do ghràs a tha saor
 O innleachdaibh Shàtain, dubh nàmhaid nan daoine'.

THE WORLD

BY JOHN MACKINNON

THOU lying and deceitful world, impious thou art !
 Him who is with you to-day thou suddenly forsakest ;
 As the spokes of a cart-wheel quickly running untired,
 The one uppermost now, the next moment below.

The bee with all diligence his store puts together,
 Gathering his supplies 'mongst nooks and glens,
 Not polluted by poison, but sucking the honey ;
 Thus the young man does in his worldly course.

The people who follow without faltering the Lamb,
 Through thick and through thin to the borders of death,
 Their works follow them with reward and victory,
 And their light shines, though they are crumbling in the dust.

Though in fiery clouds the world should go,
 And every castle and tower that are well bound with lime;
 The people who gave you their souls and their love—
 These will not perish by peril or hurt.

From the time when by Christ reconciled—
 The chariot of his love runs daily untiring,
 Bringing his loved ones safely to the land
 Where from oppression and bondage they 're free.

While I am delayed in this world's wilderness,
 Put the wall of thy love to protect me from harm,
 And keep me in safety by Thy grace so free
 From the devices of Satan, the black enemy of man.

AM BAS ¹

LE IAIN MACFHIONGHUIN

Tha mise air mo bhuaireadh 'us truas orm fhéin,
 Tha am bàs mu ar bruachan a' bualadh gu treun;
 An sean 'us an t-òg 'us gach seòrsa fo 'n ghréin,
 An t-ìosal 's an t-uasal cha truagh leis an aog.

Cha toir e aon urram do fhear a chinn léith,
 Ach bheir e dha turrag a chuireas e thaobh;
 A' mhaighdeann as brionnaiche 's as iolapaich' eum,
 Grad sàthaidh e gath innte, 's cha 'n amhairc 'n a dhéidh.

An t-òganach uallach a ghluaiseas gu réidh
 Le siubhal deas, soerach nach dochainn am feur;
 Grad cuiridh e acaid an aisnein a ehléibh,
 'Us tilgidh e thairis e à sealladh na gréine.

Tha àm agus àit aig gach eùise fo 'n ghréin,
 Ach ullachadh bàis tha so ghnàth chum ar feum;
 Tha sud air a ràitinn ri càch 'us ruim fhéin,
 'Bhi daonnan ri faire mu'n glae sinn an t-aog.

¹ This hymn is incomplete.

DEATH

BY JOHN MACKINNON

I AM troubled and full of compassion,
 For death is around our borders striking heavily ;
 Old and young of every rank under the sun,
 The low and high, for them no pity has death.

No respect does he show to him of the hoary head,
 But gives him a blow which knocks him aside ;
 The comeliest maiden of lightsome step
 He suddenly pierces with his arrow and looks not behind.

The cheerful youth who gently treads,
 With quiet, easy step that injures not the grass,
 Quickly he wounds through the chest,
 And throws him over out of sight.

There is a time and place for everything under the sun,
 But preparation for death is always needful ;
 It is told to others and to me
 To be always watchful ere death overtakes us.

FÙADACH A' GHOBHA BHIG

Rinneadh an t'òran so leis a' Ghobha Bheag (Iain MacMhuirich, Tormór) air
 dha bhi air a chur as an Eilean airson meirle-shithinn (poaching).

AIR maduinn chiùin shamhraidh mu'n eircadh a' ghrian,
 'S mu'n nochdadh i blàths air aon àite no fiamh,
 Bhiodh mise tigh'nn dachaidh le m' bhàta 's le m' liòn,
 Gu dùbhradh a' Chaisteil, gun airsneal, le m' iasg.

Nuair ruiginn an còmhnhard as bòidheche fo 'n ghréin,
 Bhiodh m' inntinn aig sòlas leis na h-eòin air gach géig,
 An druideag 's an smeòrach gu ceòlmhor a' seinn,
 'S an uiseag 'g am freagairt thar leacainn na beinn.'

'S i sud a' bheinn bhòidheach 's mi 'chòmhnuidh r' a sàil,
 Far an d'fhuair mise m' àrach 's mo thogail le bàigh,
 'S tric a bha mi air m'uilinn m'a mullach 's m'a tràigh,
 A' feitheamh nan tunnag 's mo ghunna 'n am làimh.

'S boidheach, badanach, dualach am fraoch uaine a' fàs,
 Air aodann na guallainn far an gluaiseadh an t-àl,
 'S mo mhàthair tigh'nn o'n bhuaile 's gach cuach aice làn,
 Bu mhillis an fhuarag ¹ dheanta suas leis a' bhlàth.

Cha 'n 'eil aite air thalamh mar Bhealach-nam-Meann,
 Far an robh mi ré tamuill—mi-fhéin 'us mo chlann,
 Ach b'fheudar dhomh gluasad 's an uair sin gun taing,
 O'n a thuit do 'n a' chùis mi bhi dlùth do na *Laing*.

Chuir am Bàillidh mach paiper 's gach ceàrna mu'n cuairt,
 Gun iad thabhairt dhomh àite no fàrdach car uair,
 'S na 'n toireadh, gu 'n iòchdadh iad cìs a bhiodh cruaidh,
 'S gu 'n rachadh da-rìreadh am piòsan ² thoirt uap.'

'N sin thog mi mo bhata fo m' ascaill 's an àm,
 'Us thug mi mo chùl ris gach lùchairt a bh' ann,
 'Us leag mi mo chùrsa gu dùthaich nan Gall,
 'S bha soitheach na smùide 'g am ghiùlan a nall.

'Dol seachad air a' Choire—bu chorrach a còm,
 Caòir gheal fo a toiseach 's i sgoltadh nan tonn.
 Bha mise 'n am laighe gu h-airsnealach sgìth,
 'S gu 'm b'fhearr leam na m'fharadh bhi 'n Arainn air tìr.

Bha gaoth agus gaillionn 'n ar déidh a bha trom,
 Bha 'n fhairg' ag éirigh 's a' leum thar na croinn,
 Ach dh'fhalbh i gu h-uallach nuair fhuair i muir lom,
 'Us thug i sinn sàbhailt gu caladh nan long.

Nuair ràinig mi Grianaig bha fiamh air mo ghnùis,
 'Dhol a steach do'n each-iarruinn 's na ciadan ann dùint',
 Bu sgalanta 'shéideadh e air a *Railway* glan ùr,
 'S cha b'e gearran na sréin' chumadh eum ri a chùl.

'Us thug e mi 'Ghlascho—gu baile nan Gall—
 'Us thuiginn an cànan ged nach b'i Ghàidhlig a bh' ann
 Bha mise cho tèom' ruitha féin air a cainnt,
 'S gu 'n tuiginn 'g a leughadh an sgeul a bhiodh ann.

¹ Meal and milk mixed together, crowdie.

² Pieces of land.

Tha mise an dràs d'ann an dùthaich nan Gall,
 'S cha mhór nach do sgoilt iad le 'n obair mo cheann,
 Tha gach aon diubh cho lùghmhor le òrd anns gach làimh,
 'S gur cosmhuil a' chùis ri *Waterloo* anns an Fhraing.

Ach bi'dh 'mhuinntir a dh'fhògair mi 'n aghaidh mo mhiann
 Gun chaora, gun ghobhar, gun bhó air an t-sliabh,
 Nuair bhios mis' anns an Todhar ¹ gu foghainteach, fial,
 Ag òl as mo chopan, 's a' gabhail mo bhiadh.

Translation

BY JAMES CRAIG, KILPATRICK, ARRAN

Song composed by John Currie, Tormore, on his being expelled from Arran
 for poaching.

IN the calm summer morn ere the sun with its rays
 Would awaken in beauty our valleys and braes,
 With my take in my skiff I so gaily would come
 To the shade of the castle where nestled my home.

On reaching my refuge my heart would rebound
 With joy to the chorus which echoed around,
 To the merle's thrilling love-notes the lark would reply
 From the lift o'er the hilltop far hid from the eye.

Oh, fair were the braes by the cabin I loved,
 Where early I played, where in manhood I roved,
 Where often I crouched with my gun on my knee,
 Awaiting the mallard that seldom got free.

And green was the heather which covered yon hill
 Where cows in the summer would wander at will,
 When the maids brought their pails reaming full from the fold,
 Our drink was then sweeter than nectar of old.

Dear *Beallach nam Meann* how my heartstrings were torn,
 When banished the spot where my darlings were born.
 'Tis my fate in the lowlands to nourish my wrongs,
 Since fortune once placed me too near to the Longs.²

¹ Tor-mór called also in Arran *An Todhar*.

² The informers.

The factor ordained in the pride of his power
My kin should disown me, if e'en for an hour
They 'd shelter or aid me, his ire they would feel,
Be stripped of their farms and crushed by his heel.

With my stick in my hand—it was all I possessed—
I steered for the lowlands with grief in my breast,
My back to my home and the Isle of my birth,
While the swift steamer bore me soon over the Firth.

'Twas out from the Corrie she knelt to the breeze,
With foam 'neath her prow as she ploughed o'er the seas,
While I in her lee, lying sorry and sore,
Would forfeit my fare to be safely ashore.

The gale on our quarter hard after us roared,
The waves in their anger came dashing on board,
But swiftly she sailed when the Garroch she passed,
And brought us all safe to our haven at last.

At Greenock the iron horse filled me with fear,
As it sped o'er the rails in its rapid career,
Far heard was its neigh and unrivalled its pace,
The fleetest of steeds were soon left in the race.

It brought me to Glasgow 'mid strangers to dwell,
Where the language was strange and their manners as well;
But I soon grew expert in that alien tongue,
Though dearer the Gaelic I lisped when young.

I now live with strangers and far from my kin,
With my head nearly split with the tumult and din,
So quickly his hammer each riveter plies,
Waterloo never equalled the clanging and noise.

But those who expelled me from Arran shall be
Without sheep on the moorland or cow on the lea,
While I open-handed shall live in Tormore,
To drink from my cup yet and eat of my store.

ORAN NA DIBHE

A rinneadh leis a' Ghobha Bheag, Iain MacMhuirich.

AIR maduinn Di-luain 'nuair ghluais mi do 'n Abhainn,¹
'Us mise gun chuarain, 's am fuachd 'ga mo dhàthadh,
Bha caraid dhomh shìos, 's e gu sìobhalt le *Brathar*,
Bha gloin' ac' air bòrd, 'us an còmhradh mu mhnathan.
Mo ghille donn òg.

'N sin tharruing mi suas gu luath chum mo gharaidh,
'O'n thachair 's an uair gu 'n do ghluais mi nan rathad,
'Us fhuair mise cuach o 'n duin'-uasal 's o m' charaid,
A dh' fhògair gach smuaisean 's am fuachd as mo chasan.
Mo ghille donn òg.

'N sin labhair an t-Òsdair² 's cha b'e còmhradh mo roghainn,
Cha dean thu dhomh dìoladh 's cha 'n iochd thu dhomh peighinn,
Bha mo chreideas cho suarach, 's nach cualas a leithid,
'S rinn Iain an uair sin gluasad gu Seideag.
Mo ghille donn òg.

'N sin ruithinn 'us leumainn gu h-aotrom 's gu beathail,
Cha 'n fhaicteadh mo chùl leis an stùr 'bha o m' chasan,
Ged robh agam-sa triùir, cha bhiodh cùram 's an rathad
Nach ruiginn an t-àite far am b' àbhaist dhomh fanachd.
Mo ghille donn òg.

'Nuair a rainig mi Flòiridh³—'bhean chòir 'us a h-lghnean
Ghlac i 'm botull air sgòrnan 'us dhòl i air Iain,
Thu'irt i ' théid thu do 'n chlòsaid 'us òlaidh thu rithist '
'Oir 's e do luchd-seòrsa 'chuir sòrd air an t-snidhe.
Mo ghille donn òg.

Shuidh mise sìos cho sìobhalt 's a b'aithne,
'Us tharruing mi 'n sìoman 'bha sint 'ris a' bhalla,
'S nuair tharruing mi 'n sìoman thàinig nigh'nag le cabhaig,
Is fhuair mi mo dhìol de fhìor Uisg'-na-bracha.
O'n chailin donn òg.

¹ Also known as Bun na dubh-abhainn = Blackwaterfoot.

² The late Ebenezer Bannatyne: he had the honour of entertaining such distinguished guests as the late Duke of Hamilton and Louis Napoleon.

³ Big Flora; the innkeeper's wife.

'S a mhaduinn 'nuair dhùisg mi, bu shiùbhlach mo chridhe,
 Mo mhuineal air rùsgadh, 'us mo shùilean a' sìleadh,
 Mo bhrù mar an fhùirneis le ùbraid na dibhe
 'S mo bhilean a' taomadh 'mach faoileachd mo chridhe.
 Mo ghille donn òg.

Och ! mo mhollachd le dùrachd air ùghdar na dibhe,
 'S tric a dhùin e mo shùilean 's a dhùblaich e'n t-sllghe,
 'S a dh'fhàg e mo sheòrsa a' pògadh na dìge,
 'Nan laighe 'nan òrraisg 's an còmhradh ri spioraid.
 Mo ghille donn òg.

SONG ON DRINKING

Composed by John Currie, an Gobha Beag ; translated by James Craig.

LAST Monday in footgear tattered and old,
 I steered for the village half singed by the cold,
 Where talking of women with their glass by the fire,
 I met with a friend and a fellow Macbriar.
 Hard drinking, my boy.

So to warm me I sat then with little delay,
 Since fortune had sent me for once in their way,
 Each gave me a flagon which banished and beat
 The care from my heart and the cold from my feet.
 My fair-haired boy.

But the landlord began then to talk of the way
 My kind drank his liquor but never would pay,
 How my credit was lower than credit e'er stood,
 So I sheered off for Shedag as hard as I could.
 My fair-haired boy.

I could leap then so lightly and race on the green,
 With such dust from my heels that my back was not seen,
 Had I but three glasses I'd manage my way
 To the snug little shelter where often I lay.
 My fair-haired boy.

When I got to Big Flora, good woman, she quaffed
 My health in a bumper, and gave me a draught,
 Said, 'In to the taproom and drink once again,
 'Tis your sort made my roof so long proof to the rain.'
 My fair-haired boy.

So I gladly sat down in the room I loved well,
 Caught the cord by the wall, softly tinkled the bell,
 Then the girl at my call quickly came to the door,
 And I got of good liquor what filled me—and more.
 From the fair maid, my boy.

In the morning I woke to my heart's fast career,
 With raw-feeling throat and eyes dropping the tear,
 My breast like a furnace all glowing with fire,
 And my lips fast ejecting my 'bosom's desire.'
 My fair-haired boy.

Och ! My curse on the drink that has darkened my way,
 And blinded mine eyes till I 've oft gone astray,
 Often laid in the ditch those who shared in my revels,
 To wallow in vomit and talk with blue devils.
 My fair-haired boy.

A' BHANAIS AINMEIL

'Se Seòcan agus Seònaid
 A rinn a' bhanais ainmeil,
 'S mur e 'n aois a dh'fhàg iad gòrach,
 Cha 'n e 'n òige dh'fhàg iad meanmnaeh.

'S ann suas am Baile-meadhonach
 Bha brataichean nach b'ainmig,
 'S mur bitheadh daorsa 'n fhùdair
 Chuir Uisdean Muillear deann riuth'.

Bha 'n dà chuid pìob 'us fiodhull leo,
 'S cha robh an dìbhe gann ac',
 Bha Iain Glic 's a bhiodag aig'
 A' mireag 'us a' dàmhshadh.

Dh' éirich e as a léine,
 'S chuir e aodach ann an canbhais,
 'S ruig e Achachàirn
 Roimh bhriscadh latha Samhraidh.

Bha cuid de rudan milis ann,
 Bha milscan anns a' phrainseig,
 'S bha '*raisins*' anns a' bhrot ac'
 Chuir spread am fear-na-bàinnse.

Chuir an gobha coileach ann,
 Chuir Seònaid Tòiseach meann ann,
 Chuir Paruig Sheumais tunnag ann,
 'S am Bodach fear d' a ghamhna.

Chuir Beataidh peic a' inhuilinn ann,
 'Us chuir am muillear dram ann,
 Chuir Eigi bheag dà sgillinn ann,
 'Us Donnachadh pìge cabhraich.

MARBH-RANN D'A MHNAOI

LE IAIN CARRA, ANN AN ARAINN

NUAIR a chaidh mi mar b'àbhaist
 A dh' amharc àirigh ¹ na spréidh,
 Cha robh sud ach mar fhàsach,
 Cha robh àird air no gleus ;
 Thuit am balla gu làr ann,
 'S chaidh na blàran o fheum,
 Thuit ² mo chridhe gu m' shàiltean,
 'S cha tog mi clàrsach no teud.

Cha 'n 'eil àit' 's an robh mise
 'S mo ghràdh anns a' ghleann,
 Nach bithinn ag amharc
 Dh'fheuch am faicinn thu ann ;

¹ Shielings.

² My heart fell to my heels ; an expression used to denote despondency.

Ach bha sud dhomh cho diomhain
 Ri sneachd 'g a shìbeadh feadh bheann,
 'S ann a gheibhinn thu sinte
 Far ¹ an éirich gach clann.

Cha 'n 'eil sinne 's an t-saoghal so,
 Ach mar osag gaoithe air cnoc
 A theid seachad air t-aodann,
 'S nach fhaic thu 'n taobh thig i ort ;
 Mar sin tha 'm bàs am measg dhaoine
 Le 'ghath 's le 'fhaobhar 'g an lot,
 'S 'g an sgaradh o chéile,
 'S cha 'n urrainn aon diubh a stad.

Fàsaidh feur air na leàntaich
 Le fearthuinn blàiths as na neòil,
 Dùisgidh inntinn nan eunlaith
 Bhi faicinn bhlàth air a' choill ;
 Thig gach aon nì gu nadurr'
 Le teas 'us blàths as a' ghrunnd
 Ach cha 'n fhaic mise mo ghràdh geal
 Teachd gu bràth gu mo shunnd.

Thig a' chuthag mu Bhealtain
 'S gùg-gùg aic' air géig,
 Bithidh feur anns na gleanntan
 Le teas an t-samhraidh 's na gréin' ;
 Bi'dh flùran 'us seamrag
 A' fàs gu lurach le chéil',
 Ach cha 'n fhaic mis' fàth mo mhulaid
 Gu bràth an cuideachd leam fhéin.

O ! tha mise fo mhulad,
 Fo thùrsa 's fo bhròn
 Bhi 'n cuimhne do chaidreabh
 Agus aidmheil do bheòil ;
 'S ged gheibhinn an saoghal
 Thoirt ² air thaod dhomh le còir,
 O ! gu 'm b'annsa leam agam
 Thu 'm chaidreabh na 'n t-òr.

¹ Referring to the resurrection.

² The world handed to me on a rope or halter. The expression is curious, but not inconsistent with Celtic thought or imagination.

THE BOOK OF ARRAN

Cha 'n ioghnadh mi liathadh,
 'Us mo chiabhan bhi glas,
 Gur e 's ceòl agus biadh dhomh
 Bhi 'n àite dlomhair gun neach;
 'S a bhi tathaich anns an àit
 Am bheil do chàrn 'us do leac;
 B'e an sòlas am bàs leam,
 'S bhi sìnte làimh riut gun stad.

Gur tric mi dol thairis
 Gu Sannaig ud thall,
 Far an d'fhuair mi mo leannan,
 Bean a b'fharasda cainnt;
 Bu mhath a leughadh tu 'm Bìobull
 'S a sgrìobhadh le peann—
 Sgeula duilich 's thu sìnte,
 Far¹ nach tinn leat do cheann.

ELEGY TO HIS WIFE

BY JOHN KERR, ARRAN

WHEN I went as was my custom
 To view the cattle grazings on the hill,
 It was nought but a wilderness
 Without order or cheer;
 The walls levelled to the ground,
 And the green spots a waste,
 My heart sank so low—
 Neither harp nor tune can I raise.

There is no place where I
 And my love traversed the glen,
 But I'd earnestly look
 For a sight of thee there;
 But to me 'twas as fruitless
 As the snowdrift on the hill,
 For there thou art lying
 Whence all the race shall arise.

¹ Where thy head suffers no pain.

We are in this world
But as a blast of wind on the hill,
That quickly rushes past us
Not seeing whence it came ;
Thus is death amongst mankind
With his sting and edge wounding them,
And dividing them asunder,
And no one can stay him.

Grass will grow on the plains
With genial showers from the clouds,
The birds will awake to tunefulness
As they see the blossoming woods ;
Everything shall spring according to its nature,
With heat and warmth from the ground,
But my fair love I shall never see
Coming to meet me with cheer.

The cuckoo will come in spring-time
With her call from the branch tops,
Grass will grow in the glens
By the heat of summer's sun ;
The flowers and the clover
Will grow luxuriantly together,
But the cause of my grief
Shall never again keep me company.

O ! but I am in sorrow,
In sadness and woe,
When I remember thy companionship
And thy love from thy lips ;
Though the world I would possess—
Given to me as my right—
O ! how much would I prefer
Thy loving embraces than gold.

Little wonder I am ageing,
And my locks growing grey,
'Tis food and music to my soul
To be alone with my thoughts,

And frequenting the place
Where thy grave and cairn are ;
Death to me would be a solace,
And to be laid by thy side for ever.

Oft do I pay a visit
To Sannox beyond,
Where my beloved I got—
She of most kindly speech ;
Well the Bible could she read,
And well could she use the pen :
Sad is the tale that thou liest
Where suffering comes not near thee.

MOLADH MHAIDHSIE ¹

LE IAIN MACMUIRICH, TORMÓR

BITHEADH fonn, fonn, fonn,
'S bitheadh fonn air a' bhanarach,
'S bitheadh fonn oirre daonnan,
'S gur aoibheach a' bhanarach.

Is aithne dhomh Clann Mhuirich—
Cha d' fhuair iad ach na clabagan,
An coimeas ris an òg-bhean
Fhuair Domhnall gu bhi maille ris.

Is aithne dhomh do sheòrsa,
Gu sònraichte Clann Alasdair,
Stoc ro rìoghail, suairceil
Far an do bhuaineadh ² d'athraiche.

Cha 'n iongantach leam do chéile
'Thoirt spéise dhuit thar banaraich,
Tha gliocas ann ad aodann,
'Us gaol ann ad anail-sa.

'Us a Mhaidhsie thug thu buaidh
Air gach gruagach anns an eilean so
Bu mhath thu air an fhuairgeal,
Bu lùghmhor anns an fhoghar thu.

¹ A phuithar-chéile.

² Descended from.

Ma bhios a h-ighean a' feòraich
 Cò rinn an ceòl 's an ceileireachd,
 'S e m' ainm-sa fear an òrain,
 'S mi chòmhnuidh fo na creagan so.

ORAN DO 'N T-SAOGHAL

LE FIONNLADH CARRA, ANN AN ARAINN

A SHAOGHAIL tha thu cunnartach !
 Do dhaoine bhi furan riut,
 Tha d' aodann cho brionnagach,
 'S gun aom thu gach duine leat.

Tha thu carach, caochlaideach,
 'S cosmhuil ris a' ghaoith thu,
 'S an taobh a ni thu aomadh
 Tha draoidheachd an cuideachd leat.

Tha thu measail, ciatach,
 An sùilibh nan ciadan,
 'S gur iomadh mìle pian
 Bhi 'g ad iarraidh 's na h-uil' aite.

'S minig thug thu còdhail dhomh
 Mochthrath Di-dòmhnach—
 Mu 'n d' fhuair mi dhol an òrdugh—
 Chum còmhraidh a chumail riut.

Cha 'n 'eil seòl ri fhaotainn
 Leis am faighear buaidh ort,
 Ach claidheamh a' chreidimh daonnan
 Le 'fhaobhar a chumail riut.

Chaidh thu leis na h-uaislean,
 'Us shuidh thu air an guaillean,
 'Us tharruing sud an truaighe
 Air an t-sluagh anns a' chumantas.

Chaidh thu 'n eridhe Dhémais
 Chum an t-Abstol Pòl a thréigsinn,
 'S o 'n bha e air bheagan céille
 Ghéill e gu buileach dhuit.

Chaidh thu le Rìgh Phàro,
 'Us shuidh thu ann a Phàrlamaid,
 'Us tharruing sud Clann Iacoib
 'Nan tràillea gu buileach dha.

Cha b' iongantach ged bu chianail dhaibh,
 Ré àireamh mhóir de bhliadhnaibh
 'G an caitheamh ann an criadh¹ leis,
 'S 'g am pianadh gu muladach.

Ach nuair thainig àm am fuasglaidh,
 'S a fhuaradh ceannard sluaigh' dhaibh,
 Thug e troimh 'n Mhuir Ruadh iad
 Gun chruadal 'us gun chunnart dhaibh.

Ach nuair chàirear sìos fo 'n fhòid² sinn,
 Cha toir sinn leinn de stòras
 Ach léineag agus bòrdan—
 'S neo-spòrsail a' chulaidh iad.

Leagar sinn gu h-ìosal
 Air leabaidh chumhann dhiblidh,
 'S a shaoghail! cha toir thu nìos sinn.
 'S cha dìon thu sinn o chunnartan.

Theid thu leinn gu sèolta
 Do 'n eaglais Dì-dòmhnuidh,
 A chumail cath 'us còmhraig ruinn—
 'S brònach am fear cuideachd thu.

Tha smuaintean bochd an t-Saoghail
 An lorg a' chinne-daonna,
 'G an tarruing an àm baathlachd,³
 'S 'g an aomadh gu dubhailcean.

Tha breugan agus tuaileas
 Gu tric a' deanadh buairidh,⁴
 Tha iad sin a' ruith cho luath
 Rì gaoith tuath air na mullaichean.

¹ In the clay-fields making bricks.

³ In the time of foolishness.

² Under the sod.

⁴ Temptation.

Nuair ghabhas thu do sgiathan
 'S a dh'fhalbhas thu 'ad dheann-ruith,
 'S mairg a bhfos 'g ad iarraidh—
 Tha 'm fiabhrus an cuideachd leat.

Theid sibh do 'n taigh-òsda
 'Us gladhaidh sibh air stòpan,
 Tòisichidh 'n sin a' chòmhstri,
 'S bi' dòrnann 'us builleann ann.

Air leam gur bochd¹ an sgeul e
 Do dhaoine' a fhuair an ceud-fàthan,²
 Bhi 'g òl air falbh an céille—
 'S mi fhéin nach 'eil buidheach dhiubh.

Ach mo mhile beannachd bhuan
 Do gach neach a dh'fhanas uatha,
 'S a sheachnas an sluagh ud—
 Cha bhi 'm buaireadh³ an cuideachd riu.

Ach 's iomadh teagasg bhòidheach
 Fhuair sinn o Mhaighstir Dòmhnall
 'S an eaglais Dì-dòmhnuaich,
 'G ar seòladh o na dubhailcean.

Theagaisg e gu leòir dhuinn
 A' leabhar Dheutoronomi,
 'S mur fan sinn aig òrdugh-san
 Gur brònach ar turus dhuinn.

Theagaisg e gu fìrinneach
 Mar gheibhear anns a' Bhìobull,
 Gu 'm bi sinn 'n ar cloinn⁴ dhlolain
 Na 'n strìochdamaid uile dhuit.

Ach na 'm faighinn-s' ann an éideadh,
 'Us airm a' chogaidh gleusd' agam,
 Bheirinn buille 's beum dhuit,
 'Us bhithinn fhéin gu suigeartach.⁵

¹ Sad is the tale.

² Senses, faculties.

³ Temptation shall not be in their company.

⁴ Bastards.

⁵ Leaping with joy.

'S am fear a rinn an t-òran so,
 Mur d' rinn e mar bu chòir dha,
 Na deanaibh eulaidh-spòrs dheth,
 'S ann is còir dhuibh a chuideachadh.

TO THE WORLD

A SONG BY FINLAY KERR, ARRAN

O WORLD ! thou art dangerous
 For man to make a friend of thee,
 Thy face is so flattering
 That thou drawest all towards thee.

Thou art cunning and changeable,
 Like thou art unto the wind,
 Whichever way thou inclinest
 Magic is in thy company.

Thou art respected and pleasant
 In the eyes of hundreds,
 And many a thousand pang
 To those who go in search of thee.

Oft dost thou come to meet me
 Early on Sabbath—
 Ere I got in order—
 To hold converse with thee.

No means can be found
 With which to overcome thee,
 But the sword of faith always
 With its edge kept towards thee.

Thou didst go with the gentry,
 And didst sit upon their shoulders—
 That brought distress
 On the people generally.

Thou didst enter into the heart of Demas
 So that the Apostle Paul he might forsake,
 And having but little wisdom
 He yielded to thee wholly.

Thou didst go with King Pharaoh,
And didst sit in his parliament—
That brought Israel's children
To be his abject slaves.

No wonder they were in sadness
During a great many years,
He consuming them in the clay,
And tormenting them sadly.

But when the time of deliverance came,
And a leader of the people was found,
He brought them through the Red Sea
Without hardship or danger.

But when we are consigned to the grave,
No wealth can we bring
But a shroud and coffin—
Humble are those coverings.

Low we are laid
In a mean, narrow bed,
And, O World ! thou canst not raise us up
Nor protect us from danger.

Cunningly thou goest with us
To church on the Sabbath,
To contend with and trouble us—
A sad companion thou art.

The wretched thoughts of the world
Do follow all mankind,
Drawing them away in foolishness
And inclining them to wickedness.

Falsehood and slander
Oft do assail us—
These swiftly run
As the north wind on the heights.

When thou takest to wing
And speedest off in thy haste—

Pity on him who seeks thee,
Fever is in thy company.

To the change-house you will go
And loudly call for measures,
Then begins the strife—
Fists and blows freely used.

Sad it is to relate,
That men with faculties possessed
Should drink away their senses—
'Tis I who am displeased at them.

But my thousand lasting blessings
To all who shun them
And avoid that class—
Temptation comes not near them.

But many a beautiful lesson
Have we received from Mr. Donald
In the church on Sabbath,
Guiding us away from evil.

Much has he taught us
From the book of Deuteronomy,
And if we stay not by his teaching,
Sad to us is our journey.

Faithful teaching has he given
As contained in the Bible,
That outcasts we shall be
If unto thee we yield.

But should I be fully equipped,
With my armour well prepared,
I would smite and cleave thee,
And I would exceedingly rejoice.

Now, he who made this song—
If he has not done as he ought,
Make no laughing-stock of him,
But rather should you help him.

MÀIRI ÒG

OIRINN o na ho i u,
 Oirinn o na ho i u,
 Oirinn o na ho i u,
 'S e mo rùn a rinn m' aicheadh.

F'hir nan ciabhagan donna,
 Is nan gorm-shùilean soilleir,
 'S tric a chum mi riut coinneamh
 Ann am bothan glinn àirigh.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

'S nuair a chithinn thu tighinn
 As a' bheinn le d' chuid sithinn, "
 Riut gu 'n éireadh mo chridhe
 Gun fhios do mo màthair.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

Ach ma chuir thu nis cùl rium,
 'S gu 'n d' rinn thu mo dhiùltadh,
 'S i mo ghuidhe 's mo dhùrachd
 Nigh 'n an Diùc a bhi 'm àite.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

'S mur an leannan dhuit mise
 Cuireadh am fortan bean ghlic ort
 Is cha mhisde do phiseach
 Gu 'm bheil mis' ann 'n gràdh leat.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

Tha mo chiabhan air glasadh
 'S le mo shùilean cha 'n fhaic mi
 O na dh'fhàg mise 'n caisteal
 'S an Aich¹ a tha laimh ris.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

O cha 'n iarrainn de dh' athchuing
 Ach trocair do m' anam,
 'Sa bhi 'n àite do mhnatha
 'S mi 'g altrum do phàisdean.
 Oirinn o na ho i u, etc.

¹ Aich, the burn by Loch Ranza Castle.

YOUNG MARY

O ! thou of the auburn locks
 And bright blue eyes,
 Oft have I met thee
 In the shieling of the glen.

And when with thy venison
 I would see thee coming from the ben,
 My heart would arise to thee
 Unknown to my mother.

But if thou didst reject me,
 And my suit hast denied,
 My wish and prayer are
 That the Duke's daughter be in my place.¹

And if thou be not my lover
 Let fortune a wise wife give you,
 And thy good-luck be none the worse
 That I have given you my love.

My locks are getting grey
 And my eyes growing dim,
 Since I left the castle
 And the wee burnie by it.

No other wish would I ask
 But mercy to my soul,
 And to be thy lawful wife
 Nursing thy children.

FAIDHIR AN T-SEASGAINN

LE IAIN CARRA, LOCH RAONASA

Ho-ro gur toigh leinn drama,
 Hi-ri gur toigh 's gur math leinn,
 Ho-ro gur toigh leinn drama,
 'S iomadh fear tha 'n geall air.

¹ As a rejected lover.

Chaidh mi siar gu faidhir an t-Seasgainn,
Thug mi leam deagh ghcarran deas ann,
'S truagh nach robh mi anns an teasaich,
'S breisleach ann mo cheann-sa.

Nuair a ràinig mise 'n fhaidhir,
Bha gach duine rium a' labhairt,
'So, ma reiceas tu do ghearran,
Thalla 's bheir mi dram dhuit.'

Ach cha robh mi ann an deifir,
'S dùil am gu'n robh margadh deas dhomh,
'Us Domh'll Ruadh a bhi mar sheis ¹ leam,
Gu 'm *beatamaid* gu 'n taing iad.

'N sin thachair ormsa giullan gleusd'
'S e air ùr theachd nall à Eirinn
Bhruidh'nn e rium 's a' chanain Bheurla,
'S bha mi fhéin an call deth.

Thug e suas mi eùl a' mhuilinn,
'S leig e fhaicinn gearran dubh dhomh,
Thuirt e rium gu 'n robh e subhaidh ²
Laighe muigh 's a' gheamhradh.

Chaidh an sin sinn do 'n taigh-òsda,
'S ghlaodh an t-Eirionnach air stòpa,
Bheireadh e na mionnan mór às
Gu 'n robh e òg 'us meamnach.

Chuir mi m' làmh am pòc' mo bhriogais,
Fhuair mi 'n sin ann aon 's dà sgillinn,
Chuir mi sud 's an stòpa rithist,
O 'n bha ar cridh' an geall air.

Thuirt e rium ma bha mi 'g iarraidh
Og each 'dheanadh cur no cliathaidh,
Nach robh coimeas sear no siar,
D' a ghearran ciatach, gallda.

¹ A companion ; also a match or equal = he was in no hurry for a sale, as he and his friend would be a match to any one.

² *Subhaidh* = in good condition and easily kept.

Cha do chuir mi ag 'na chòmhradh,
 Chionn bha aogas duine còir air,
 Rinn sinn malairt agus chòrd sinn,
 'S cha robh an stòpa gann oirnn.

Dh'fhàs an oidhech dorch, dòbhaidh,
 Cha bu léir dhuit fad do bhròige,
 'S iomadh fear a chluinnteach gròcail,
 'G iarraidh òirleach coinnle.¹

Thog mi orm 'us dh'fhàg mi 'n fhaidhir,
 'Us mi 'n dùil gu 'n d' fhuair mi gearran,
 Ach mu 'n robh mi leathach rathaid,
 Dh'fheumainn cabar calltuinn.

Bha 'dhruim cho geur ri cùl an t-sàibhe
 Cha mhór nach sgoltadh e mo mhàsan
 Ach fhuair mi peallag o Iain Bàn
 'Us shàbhail sud gun thaing mi.

Bha mi 'g imcachd mar a dh'fhaodainn,
 Treis 'ga mharcachd, 's treis 'ga shlaodadh,
 Ach cha ghearanainn mo shaothair,
 Mur biodh mar ghaoir a' chlann rium.

Fhuair mi dhachaidh 'n sin ri ùine,
 'S chuir mi seachad ann an cùil e,
 'S nuair a thainig an là ùr,
 Bha iomadh sùil 'ga shealltuinn.

Thug mi 'n sin a mach air blàr e,
 'S chuir mi Iain air g'a fheuchainn,
 'S ged bhiodh spuircean air a shàiltcan,
 Dh'fhàgainn fhéin gun thaing e.

Nuair a chuir mi anns an fheun e,
 'S ann a bhuiceadh e 's a leumadh,
 Mar a chunnacas boc féidh,
 Air feadh nan sliabh 's nam beanntan.

¹ As the fair was held at night, the horses for sale were inspected by candle-light.

Nuair a chuir mi anns a' chliath c,
 Shiùbhladh c cho luath 's a dh'iarrainn,
 Fhuair mi còrr 'us obair bliadhn' as,
 'Us rinn a bhian dhomh *barb-skin*.¹

NOTES ON 'FAIDHIR AN T-SEASGAINN'

Shisken fair was at one time perhaps the most popular fair on the island. From the circumstance of its being held at night, it easily lent itself to a great deal of roguery, many stories of which are still current. There was far more business done by way of swapping than selling for hard cash.

There is a story told of a Shisken farmer who, being pressed for money, went to the fair to dispose of his horse. He returned home, after a series of exchanges, with his own animal and five pounds in his pocket besides. Owing to various circumstances the fair latterly began to dwindle, and was finally discontinued about fifty years ago.

The Irishman referred to in the song was one Duncan Kane, who had to leave his native land for some political offence. He wooed and won the daughter of a Torbeg farmer, promising to make her Lady Ballylochy, a district somewhere in the north of Ireland, where his descendants by a previous marriage lived quite recently. After settling in Arran he did a little horse-dealing. Evidently from having his pony behind the mill, instead of along with the rest, in the vicinity of the public-house, he intended to take advantage of any one whose simplicity allowed himself to be taken in.

Iain Bàn was John Sillars, a Tormore farmer.

Iain Carra, the composer of the song, was a Loch Ranza crofter; he also performed the duties of local gamekeeper, and, being a weaver by profession, this explains why he used the horse's skin as an apron, 'barb-skin' being another term for weaver's apron.

ORAN A RINNEADH LE DOMHNUL MACMUIRICH²

TURUS DO IRBHINN LE UISGE-BEATHA

Chaidh ùghdar an orain so le Alasdair Dròbhair agus Raonall an sgiobair aon uair gu Irbhinn le uisge-beatha air nach do phaigheadh cis, agus a chionn gu'n robh an t-Sàbaid ann nuair a ràinig iad dh'fhalaich iad na buideil anns a' ghainmhich gus an rachadh an Dòmhnach tharta. Nuair a thill MacMhuirich agus an sgiobair gus an aite-fallaich cha robh buideal no bathar ri fhaotainn, agus bha iad a' cur na braide air Alasdair Dròbhair.

AN dùl a chaidh mi thun na marachd
 Le Alasdair an Dròbhair,
 Shéid a' ghaoth 'n iar 'na srannaibh,
 'S chuir i car 's an t-seòl oirnn;

¹ Weaver's apron. See note at end.

² In Arran the *M* of the Mac is not pronounced (*i.e.* 'acMhuirich), and the final *ch* also is silent.

'S nuair thug i *heel* do 'n bhàta,
 Cha robh *cutter* 'dh'fhaodadh feuchainn
 Teachd a nìos ruinn air an t-snàmh ud,
 'S i mar eun 's na neoil againn.

Bu lurach i a' gearradh uisg',
 'Us sruth 'dol o a bòrdaibh,
 Cha robh lóng mhór 's na h-uisgeachan
 A chumadh rithe seòladh;
 Laigh i nunn fo làn a h-aodaich—
 Cùrsa dìreach 's 'n oidheche reubach,
 Gaoth 'n iar-thuath teachd fuar thar Gaoid-bheinn,¹
 'S cha do ghéill i òirleach.

'S ann mar so thu'irt Raonall an sgiobair,
 'S mithich dhuinne deòrum²
 A ghabhail as a' bhuideal bhiorach
 A mhisneachadh ar dòchais;
 'S nuair a fhuair sinn sud 'nar buadhan
 Cha robh de luchd-rìgh mu'n cuairt dhuinn
 'Chuircadh eagal oirnn no cluadan,
 'Us cuailleann ann ar dòrnaibh.

Bhuailemaid gach neach a thigcadh,
 'S mhilleamaid an dòchas,
 Bhiodh gach ceann dhiubh aca briste,
 'Us silteach fal' o 'n srònaibh;
 Ach dh'éirich suas a nis MacGrabhan,
 'Us air an ailm thug e tarruing,
 Stiùiridh mis' 'ars esan,' a' challinn
 Thun na gaineimh chòmhnaird.

'S o na fhuair sinn e fo 'n ghaineimh,
 Falaicht' mar bu chòir dha,
 Ghluais sinn le cheil' gu baile,
 'S cadal trom 'g ar leònadh;
 'S mo thruaigh nach do rinn mi faire,
 Ged robh mì gun chadal fhathast,

¹ *Gaoid-bheinn*, Goatfell.

² *Deòrum* (*jorum*) is always associated with a big drink of whisky. The etymology is uncertain, unless it be from *deur*, a drop of drink, *deuran*, a small drop, and *deorum*, a big drink; or it may be a corruption of *deagh dhram*, a good drink.

Mu 'n do leig sinn leis a' ghaisreadh
E roimh là Di-dòmhnuich.

Bu lurach iad a' slaodadh bhuideal,
'S Luidein ag an seòladh,
Clootie 'togail orra 'n ultaich,
'S e 'g an cur an òrdugh;
'S dh'innseadh esan dhaibh gu beurra
Gu 'n robh iad 'n an daoine feumail,
'S ged a ghoideadh iad dheth taoman
Nach biodh h-aon an tòir orra.

Gu'm b' e fhéin àrd-rìgh a' pheacaidh,
'Us nach b'eagal d' an luchd-seòrsa
'S nach biodh cùram dhaibh no gealtachd
Fhad 's bhiodh esan leòtha;
Ach 's cinnteach leam gu'm faigh iad fhathast
Ladhran loisgte anns an teallaich,
Mur an sguir, 's mur toir iad thairis
Leantuinn air an spòrs 'ud.

Translation

BY J. CRAIG

THE trip I went a-sailing
With Alister the Drover,
The squally west wind caught our sails
Our boat went nearly over.
Then heeling to the breeze that blew,
'Twas vain for cutters to pursue
As faster than a bird e'er flew
Through smoking drift we drove her.

'Twas rare to see her snowy wake
As snarling billows maul'd her,
The fastest frigate on the seas
Could ne'er have overhaul'd her;
Unreefed, unyielding on she passed
Through darkening night and strengthening blast,
While nor-west showers came scourging fast
From Goatfell's craggy shoulder.

Our skipper Ronald then arose
And said, My jolly quorum,
To raise our hopes we 'll broach a cask
And drink a hearty jorum.
When through our veins we felt the heat
King's men would ne'er make us retreat,
But stick in hand, would boldly meet
And well with cudgels claur 'em.
We 'd dash the hopes of all who came
Intending to oppose us,
And pack them off with bleeding crests,
And torn and bloody noses.
Long-leggèd Crawford then got up
And caught the tiller in his grip,
Quoth he, I 'll steer our trusty ship
To land e'er morning shows us.
We hid our stuff beneath the sand,
Though little that avail'd us,
Then went our weary way to town
While sorely sleep assail'd us.
Would that a better watch we set,
Though we should ne'er have slumbered yet,
Ere we allowed such rogues to get
Our store ere morning hail'd us.
Oh, rare to see the rascals run
With kegs that ne'er paid duty,
'Twas Luidein laid their burdens on,
The orders came from Clootic.
His lies he glibly would relate,
How useful they were to the State,
And though they stole, 'twas to abate
Their thirst with lawful booty.
That he was aye the sinner's friend,
Their kind need never fear him,
Nor need they care what might befall
So long as he was near them;
But much I fear they need not boast,
Some later day they 'll count the cost
When at his hearth their toes he 'll toast,
And for their labour jeer them.

APPENDIX A

SELECTED CHARTERS RELATING TO ARRAN IN THE REGISTER OF THE GREAT SEAL OF THE KINGS OF SCOTLAND

(Translated)

REGISTER OF DAVID II.

Confirmation of the Charters of the Monastery of Kilwinnin

DAVID, by the grace of God King of the Scots, . . . to all loyal men. . . . Know that we have inspected and truly understood two charters, one of John of Meneteeth Lord of Aran and of Knapdale . . . not erased, not abolished, not cancelled, nor in any part of them vitiated, to the religious men, the Abbot and monks of Kylwinnine.

The charter of John of Menteth follows :

‘To all the sons of Holy Mother Church who may see or hear this present writing . . . John De Menethet (*sic*) Lord of Aran and of Knapdall eternal salvation in the Lord. Know ye that for the salvation of my own soul and that of Katherine my late spouse, and for the salvation of the souls of our ancestors and successors, I have granted, bestowed, and by this present charter confirmed to God and to the Blessed Virgin Mary and to Saint Winnin and to the monastery of Kilwinnin in Conynghæme, to the Abbot and monks serving God there, and their successors serving there unto all time, the right of patronage and advowson of the Churches of Saint Mary and Saint Bridget in the island of Arran with chapels and with all other profits pertaining to the said churches, with the chapels and lands rightfully belonging or in future times possible to belong in any way thereto. To be held and had by the said monastery and the monks aforesaid for ever, with its just pertinents in free, pure and perpetual alms, as free, pure, honourable as any alms in the kingdom of Scotland may possibly be granted or bestowed on any monastery or holy place, saving the rights of the Rectors of the said churches who now are, until they yield up office or die. . . . In testimony of which I have placed my seal to the present charter. Witnesses :—Sir Bean Rector of the Church

of St. Mary (Kilmorie) of Arran : William de Foularton : Christian McNawych(ton) : Comedin Leech : Hugh John's son : Buan Were : Robert Boiman, Thomas de Infirmitorio, and many others. Given in the monastery aforesaid on 12th October 1357.'

Edinburgh, 22 May

16 Jac. II.
A.D. 1452.

The King has granted to Alexander Lord Montgomery, and to his heirs, for his faithful service, &c., the lands of Kendloch of Raynsay, Cathaydill, the two Turregeys, Altgoulach, Auchegallane, Tymoghare, Dougarre, Penreoch, lying in Arran in the Sherifffdom of Bute : Service, three suits in the chief courts held in Bute.

At Edinburgh, 26 April

7 Jac. III.
A.D. 1467.

The King—on account of singular favour, &c.—granted to Thomas Earl of Arran and to Mary his wife the King's sister,—the lands of the island of Arran, in the sherifffdom of Bute :—which the King erected into a free barony of Arran :—To be held by the said Thomas and Mary and whichever of the two lives the longer, and by the heirs legitimately got between them, whom failing, to revert freely to the King and his heirs and successors.—Reddendo, to the King for 20 marcates of the property of the said lands lying next the principal messuage of the same,¹ one silver penny, by name blench ferm, and for all the other lands, the services due and accustomed.

At Edinburgh, 11th Aug.

16 Jac. IV.
A.D. 1503.

The King, on account of blood-relationship between him and James Lord Hamilton, and for his gratuitous service and great labours and expenses incurred for the honour of the King and Queen at the time of the celebration of the marriage of the King, solemnized at the Abbey of Holy Rood near Edinburgh,—and with the advice of the Council and the Three Estates of the Realm,—has granted to the said James Lord Hammyltoun,—the lands and Earldom of Arran in the Sherifffdom of Bute, with the tenants, &c., advowson and donation of churches and chapels of the same, with castles, fortalices, mills, and fisheries in a free Barony :—To be held by the said James and his heirs male of the body legitimately begotten, whom failing, to revert freely to the King and his successors :—Reddendo, annually one silver penny, by name blench ferm :—Further, he promised to ratify the said donation in the next parliament, with a new donation

¹ Brodick.

of the same if need were, by annulling the annexation of the said Earldom to the Crown formerly made. Witnesses as in preceding charters.

Edinburgh, 1 Jan.

The King, having with the Lords of his Council inspected the evidences produced by David, Bishop of Lismore, concerning certain lands of the Abbey of Sagadull within the domain of Kintire, which were granted in pure almoigne, confirmed by the Kings Alexander, Robert, David, & Robert, viz. :—(1) Charter of Ranald MacSorlet who called himself King of the Isles, Lord of Ergile and Kintire, founder of the said monastery, —of the lands of Glensagadull and of 12 marcates of Battebeam in the said domain : (2) another charter of the same,—of 20 mark lands of Ceskene in the island of Arran : (3) . . .

20 Jac. IV.
A.D. 1507/8.

. . . (8) Charter of Duncan Campbele of Lochquhou,—of one oblate of land called Barrandayb & Blairnatibrade, in the domain of Knapdale :—and because the said abbey has been joined by the Pope with the Bishopric of Lismore, therefore (the King) as Tutor and Governor of James Prince of Scotland and of the Isles, has, for renewal of the said evidences and strengthening of the said union, and for special affection, ratified and admortized (granted in mortmain) to the said David Bishop of Lismore, and his successors, the aforesaid evidences, and incorporated the afore-written lands in a free barony of Sagadull, with the power of building castles, towers, and fortresses within the said lands for the custody thereof.

Oxford, 12 Apr.

The King, recalling the many and excellent services rendered to himself and to his forebears by James Marquis of Hammiltoun, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, Lord of Aven and Innerdale, and his ancestors, in affairs of the greatest moment committed to their singular fidelity, not only within the realm of Scotland but also abroad,—and weighing and considering well that the said James belongs to the blood royal in close relationship, and from his earliest infancy has applied himself with the highest vigour and affection to promoting the service of the King, performing very many matters of state entrusted to him by the King, with extreme fidelity and industry,—*has created the said James—Duke of Hamilton*, Marquis of Clidisdalia, Earl of Arran, and of Cambridge, Lord of Aven, and Innerdale, *by giving to him* and his heirs male of the body, failing whom, to William Earl of Lanark, his brother, the King's Secretary, and his heirs male of the body, failing whom, to the oldest heir female of the body of the said James, without division, and to her heirs male of the body, bearing the name and

19 Car. I.
A.D. 1643.

the arms of the family of Hamiltoun, failing whom, to the said James and his heirs whomsoever, *the title and dignity of Duke*, with which he has invested them, in the tenour of these presents: Besides, the King has willed that these letters should be as valid as if the said James had been inaugurated with all the solemnities used of old time.

CHARTERS OF KNIGHTSLANDS, AND OTHER LANDS IN ARRAN, ACQUIRED
FROM THE STEWARTS OF BUTE, 1357-1549

(*Historical MSS. Commission, Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part VI.*)

Charter by Robert Stewart of Scotland, granting to Sir Adam of Folartoun, knight, heir of the late Reginald of Folartoun, Lord of that ilk, for his homage and service, the granter's whole lands of Knycht-island, with pertinents in Arran, and within the sherifffdom of Bute; to be held to Adam and his heirs of the granter and his heirs in fee and heritage for ever, for performance of common suit of court at the Castle of Bradwok (Brodict) and for ward and relief as they happen. With clause of warrandice. Witnesses, Sir John Lindissay, Lord of 'Turriscrag' (Craigie?), Gilbert of Cunningham, precentor of the church of Glasgow, John Stewart, son of Sir Alan Stewart, Nigel of Carrutheris, the granter's chancellor, and Ranulph of Crawford. [No date; 1356-1371.] Fine seal attached; the Scottish lion surrounded by the royal tressure. Above the shield is a small coronet with three points like trefoil or strawberry leaves, legend not decipherable.

Retour made at Rothesay in Bute in presence of Ninian Stewart, sheriff of Bute and Arran, by the following jurors, Robert Bannatin, Ninian Bannatin of Camys, John Glas of Ascok, John Spens of Camys, James Stewart of Kilcattan, John Stewart of Neilston-side, Robert McVile, Rankin Fullarton, Patrick McGilpatrick, Robert Jamesone, Morice McEwen (Eugenii), Robert Stewart, William Bannatin of Dunawlat, John Jameson of Meknach, Archibald Bannatin of Quogaeh, Donald McKynlaw, Alexander Glas, declaring that John Fullarton was lawful and nearest heir of his father the late John Fullarton in nine merk lands in the island of Arran, and sherifffdom of the same, the lands being now valued at nine merks Scots yearly and nine bolls of barley in time of peace, held of the King in chief, and in his hands by reason of ward from the death of the late John Fullarton, for twenty years, and two years in default of the heir's entry. Retour dated 6th November 1515. [Sasine given on 3 November 1516, of the nine merk lands of Dumruden in the Isle of Arran to John Fullarton of that ilk; bailie, Adam Stewart,

deputy for Ninian Stewart. Witnesses, Alexander Coningham, younger, of Colzein, John Patecru, John Fullarton, John McCharchar, and John Neilson. Another sasine of the same lands was given by Ninian Stewart as bailie depute of Bute and Arran, on 22 May 1539, to John Fullarton of that ilk, as heir of his father, who had died ten years before 16 May 1538, the lands having been in the King's hands by reason of ward, the yearly rental being 6*l.* Scots. Witnesses to sasine David Blair of Adamtoun, Ninian Bannatyne of Cames, Mr. John Dunbar, John Crauford, and James Tait.]

Procuratory of Resignation by John Fullarton of that ilk, Lord of Corsby, by which he resigns the lands of Drumrudyr or Knightslands, in the King's hands, in favour of James Stewart, sheriff of Bute and Arran, and his heirs. Dated at Irvine, 7th November 1541. Witnesses: William Conyngham of Conynghamhead, John Mure, provost of Irvine, Robert Stewart of Killecroye, William Stirling, burgess of Bute, George Abbyrmethe, Malcolm Makewin, and Robert Makgilnowe. Seal appended. Charges three branches of a tree, two and one. Legend S. IHOHANNIS FOVLARTOVNE.

Charter by James Stewart, sheriff of Bute, granting to his son Alexander Stewart and the lawful heirs male of his body, etc., the nine merk land of Knychtisland, *alias* Tonreddyr, in the parish of Kilmorre, in the Isle of Arran. To be held for a penny yearly of blench farm. Dated at the parish church of Largs, 16 May 1548. Witnesses: Alexander Stewart of Kildonan, John Stewart of Kylecroye, John Fresall of Knok, Robert Stewart in Neilstown-syde, James M^cWeryte, Fynlaw M^cWerite, John Jameson, and David Neill, notary public.

Charter by John Stewart of Ardgowan, granting to Ninian Stewart, sheriff of Bute, the forty pound land of old extent, called the ten penny lands, Kildonan, Twa furlongs, Dupenny-lands, with the three Largs, two Keskedelis, Glenascasdale, and Clachane, in the Isle of Arran, and sheriffdom of Bute, in exchange for the grantee's twenty pound land of old extent called Baloch, Scheane, and Auchinquharne, with an annual rent of 24 merks Scots, to be uplifted from the barony of Abernethy, in the sheriffdom of Perth: To be held to Ninian Stewart and his heirs and assignees, of the King and his successors for the services due and wont. Dated at Edinburgh, 24 February 1502-3. Witnesses: Archibald Earl of Argyll, etc., Mathew Earl of Lennox, etc., John Elphinstone of Airth, David Betone, Alexander Bannatyne, Morice Maknachtan, John Paterson, John Gray, and James Young. The seal of the granter is gone from this writ, but a precept of sasine granted by him on the following day has his seal appended, bearing a lion rampant surmounted by the Stewart fess. Legend S. IOHANIS STEUART.

Extract registered Contract betwixt James Earl of Arran, etc., Governor of Scotland, and James Hamilton, his eldest son and apparent heir on one part, and James Stewart, sheriff of Bute, on the other part, to the effect that James Stewart shall infeft the Earl in frank tenement and liferent for all the days of his life, and James Hamilton his son in fee, in all lands and others within the Isle of Arran and sheriffdom of Bute in which Stewart is infeft or in which his father the late Ninian Stewart died seised, reserving the office of sheriff of Arran and Bute. In return the Earl shall pay to Stewart four thousand merks, under certain conditions, and shall also cause Stewart to obtain feu infeftment of the office of the chamberlainry of Bute, he finding security to the Queen for payment of the rents and duties. The Earl shall further cause Stewart to obtain infeftment in feu farm of his steading of the lands of Cumbray extending to ten pound land of old extent, he paying therefor the yearly dues owing to the Castle of Dumbarton; providing, however, that the Earl shall not be obliged to warrant the lands and office to Stewart at the Queen's hands. It is also agreed that Arran shall 'do his diligence' to reconeile the Earl of Argyll and Stewart, and that he shall stand a good friend to the sheriff in time coming, and shall help him to his kirks of Bute which he had previously. From this contract the five mark land of Corrygills is excepted to the sheriff, as pertaining to his office of sheriffship. Dated at Edinburgh, 28 May 1549 in presence of John [Hamilton], bishop of Dunkeld, Neil Layng, Master Andro Oliphant, notaries public, Robert Stewart in Neilson-syde, John Hamilton of Nelisland, and Robert, master of Semple. Registered in the books of council, 29th May 1549.

Charter by James Stewart, sheriff of Bute, in terms of the preceeding contract, granting and alienating to James, Earl of Arran, etc., in liferent and to James Hamilton his eldest son and heir-apparent, his heirs and assignees, the forty-pound lands of old extent, called the ten penny lands [as described supra], also the nine merk land of Tonrydder *alias* Knychtislands, with the island of Pladow, and with towers, fortalices, etc., patronage of chapels, etc., lying in the island of Arran, and sheriffdom of Bute; to be held of the queen and her successors for service due and wont. Dated at Edinburgh, 4th July 1549; witnesses, John [Hamilton], Archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, legate, etc., Robert, Master of Semple, Mr. Gawin Hamilton Dean of Glasgow, William Hamilton of Humby, John Hamilton of Nelisland, Mr. Alexander Forrous, provost of Fowlis, Robert Stewart in Neilstown side, and Mr. Andrew Oliphant, notary public, who leads the sheriff's hand at the pen, he being unable to write. Seal appended; quarterly, 1 and 4 a lion rampant; 2 and 3 the Stewart fess chequé. Legend S. IACOBI STEVART.

APPENDIX B

The ISLAND OF ARRAN for the Year 1766

Farms Names.	Principle Tenants ¹ Names.	Farms Names.	Principle Tenants ¹ Names.
Corry	G. Hamilton	Balle-michael	Ga ⁿ . Hamilton
South Sannox	Alex. Kerr	Peen	P ^k . McKenzie
Mid. Do.	Jno. Kelso	Sheddag	Ga ⁿ . Hamilton
North Do.	Wm. McKinzie	Ballagowan	Alex. McGrigor
No. Laggan	A. McKelvie	Heigh Feorling	D. M'Master
Cock	D ^d . McKillop	Laigh Feorling	Alex. McGrigor
Newtown	Fr. Kerr	Drummaguinar	Alex. McGrigor
Lochransay	D ^d . McDonald	Kilpatrick	Alx. Mcalaster
Glen	Wm. Kelso	Corriecravie	Jno. McKinnon
Kellymore	Wr. McLeish	Slidry	Jno. McKinnon
Cattoall & Craw	Duncan Kerr	Margareoch	Ax. McGrigor
Thundargaie	Jno. M'alastar	Berrican	Dan. Cook
Penrioch	Jno. Currie	Corryhainy	G. Stuart
Algollach	Dr Fullarton	Glenscordal & }	James Hamilton
Imachar	Dond. Sillar	Gargadale }	
Banlikan	Dun. Sillar	Glenrie	Jno. Stuart
Dowgarie	Ax. McGrigor	Benne-carrigan	R ^t . McCook
Auchachan	D ^d . Robertson	Clawcheg	D ^d . McDonald
Auchengallan	Jno. Mcfie	Cloynet	Jno. McCook
Machray	Ax. Hamilton	Auchaliffan }	James McKinnan
Tormore	Ax. McGrigor	Strathgail }	
Torbeg	Ditto	Auchareoch	Jno. McCook
Drummadoon	Ditto	Kilmorry	G ^m . Stuart
Glaster }	Hector Mcalastar	Torrylin & Milln	Captain Hamilton
Mony Quill }		Kilbrid bennan	A. Ferguson
Dernanach	Alx. McGrigor	Shennachy	Jno. McCook

¹ Headings and names in both lists exactly transcribed from Burrel.

Farms Names.	Principle Tenants Names.	Farms Names.	Principle Tenants Names.
Westbennan	Jno. Miller	Kilbride Mill	Wm. Mcalastar
East Bennan	Gm. Stuart	Blairmore & } Margnahaglish }	Wm. Gershome Stuart
Lopping-ehorroch	Th. Taylor	Wr. Clauchland	R ^t . McBride
Auchinhew	Hec. McNeill	Easter Do.	Jno. Menish
Marganish	Jno. McCurdie	Strath Wellan	Jno. Miller
Ballaminoich	Jno. McGraffan	Maish	D ^d . Fullarton
Drumlaborrow	McGraffan	Gleneloy	MeLoy
Ditto Milln	McLoy	Mossend	Ch. Hamilton
Dipping	Arch. McCook	Glensharrig	Ch. Hamilton
Largiebeg	Wm. Hamilton	Glenrosie	Robt. Hendry
Largiemenoich	Jas. Schaw	Glenshant	Thos. Brown
Largiemore & } Ashdale Milln. }	Heetor Mealastar	Knockan	Aw. Fullarton
So. Kiskadale	Jno. Murphy	Brodick Milln	A. Millar
Mid Ditto	Ax ⁿ . Stuart	Dykehead & } Markland }	Mr Boyd Robertson
North Do.	Ax ⁿ . Stuart	Arrantoun Houses	
Knockankilly	A ^w . Hamilton	Bayhead House	Jas. Adams
Aucheneairn	Pt. McBride	Millhill Houses } & Grass }	Mr Walker
Kings Cross	Jno. Hamilton	Claddach Cottors	
Cordon	Wm. Schaw		
Monnymore	Jno. Mebride		
Wauk Mill	D ^d . Torry		
Glenkill	Jno. McBridan		
Palaster & } Heigh Letter }	William Wilson		
White House	Mr Walker		
Lamblash Island	Do.		
Laigh Letter	Wm. Wilson		
Blairbeg	Jno. Stirling		

SUPERIORITY LANDS.

Kilmichael
Whitefarland
Kilconnon
South & North
Corrygills

The ISLAND OF ARRAN according to the new
Divisions now Made for 1773

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Corry	So. Farm } Mid Ditto } North Do. }	Jno. Robertson

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
So. Sanox	So. Farm } Mid Do. } North Do. }	Axr. Kerr
Mid. Do.	So. Farm No. Farm West Farm	Rot. Kelso N. McKelvie Wm. McKenzie
No. Sanox	Mid Do. East Do.	Mm. McKillop Jno. Kelso
Little Laggan		Rot. Hendry
North Laggan	{ East Farm West Farm	
Cock	East Farm West Do.	Jno. McKillop Alxr. McKilvie
Newtown	D ^d . Kerr	
Lochransay	{ No. Farm Et. Mid Do. Wt. Mid & Mill Margnahaglish Ormbeg Back Farm	Finly Kerr Robt. Kerr D ^d . McDonald Dun. Kerr Jno. Kerr Ax. Kerr
Glen	{ West Farm East Do.	
Kellymore		
Catcoall		A. Kerr
Craw		Col. Lindsay Dtto.
Thundargay	{ N.E. Farm Mid Do. S. West Do.	Wm. McKenzie Jno. Sellar
Penrioch	{ East Farm Mid Do. West Do.	Rot. Hendry & Neill Robison
Algollach		Ninian J. D. Hendrys
Imichar	{ North Farm South Do.	Alxr. Kerr Andw. Stuart

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Banlikan	{ North Farm South Do.	Pat. Murphy Peter Sellar
Dougary	{ North Farm Mid Do. So. East Do.	Finlay Kerr Tyn J. Murdoch John Sellar
Auchachar	{ North Do. South Do.	Alex. Mcalastar Neil Robison
Auchengallon	{ South Farm No. East Do.	Wm. Sellar Jno. Mcalastar
Machray	{ No. East Farm Sou. Et. Do. So. West Do. No. West Do.	Jno. McKinnon Alex. McKinnon Pk. McKinnon Jno. Mcalastar
Tormore	{ 1. Wt. Farm } 2. West Do. 1. Et. Farm 2. West Do. }	A. Mcmillan
Torbeg	{ East Farm } West Do. }	Dun. Mcalastar
Drummadoon	{ South Farm } North Do. }	Aln. Fullarton
Glaustar		Arch. Craig
Monny Quill	{ West Farm } East Do. }	Hector Mcalaster
	Glenlough	Wm. Hamilton
	{ North Farm South Do. No. Do. below the road East Do. below the road East Do. above the road. }	Hugh McKenzie
Ballamichael		James Hamilton
Peen	{ No. under Farm } So. under Do. Middle Do. Et upper Do. }	Patrick McKenzie

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Sheddag	{ Under Farm Upper Do. Mill, £36. Glebe, £17. }	Jno. Mcgraffan
Ballygowan	{ Under Farm Upper Do.	D ^d . Mcalastar Ch. Mc.Cook
Feorling	{ Heigh Farm Laigh Do.	Mcmaster & Bannantine
Drummaginar	{ Heigh Farm Laigh Do. }	
Kilpatrick	{ North Farm Mid Do. South Do. }	Alexander Mcalaster
Corricravie	{ West Farm Mid Do. below the road. East Do. below the road. North Et Do. above Do. North Farm }	Humphry Stuart & 4 others
Slidry	{ North Farm 2 No. Do. No. W. Do. above the Rd. No. E. Do. above Do. So. E. Do. below Do. So. W. Do. below Do.	
Margarioch	{ South Farm Mid Do. North Do.	Wm. Mckinnon Wm. Stuart Jno. Stuart
Birrican	{ South Farm North Do.	Patk. Mckinnon Jno. Meninch
Corryhainy		Alexr. Menicol
Glenscordal		
Loop		
Gargadale		Jas. Hamilton

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Glenrie	{ East Farm South Et. Do. West Do. North West Do.	John Stuart Malcolm Reid
Bennicarrigan	{ West Farm below the road. West Do. above Do. 2nd West Do. above Do. 3rd West Do. Do. East Do. above the road. 2nd Et. above Do. Et. Do. below Do.	Rot. McCook
Claucheg	{ W. F. below road 1 W. above Do. 2 W. above Do. N.W. above Do. E. Do. below Do. 1 E. above Do. 2d E. above Do.	Dd. McDugal Jno. McCurdie Ar. Mcalastar Dd. Mckinnon
Cloynet	{ South Farm Do. above the houses. 1 West Farm 2 West Farm 1st E. Farm 2d. E. Farm Nursery	Jno. McCook Ch. McCook Dd. McCook Do. Junr. N. McCook Jno. McDonald Reserved
Auchaliffan } & Strathgael }		Jas. Mckinnon
Auchareoch & } Balagonachic }		Jno. Hamilton
Kilmory	{ Round ye Glebe 2d. Do. E. of Do. 3d. Do. N.E. Do. 4th Do. N. of Do.	Mr. Hamilton, Minr. Jas. McBride

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Tory Linn	{ Mill glebe } The milln } Mid Farm East Do.	Jn. McDonald Dd. McKinnon Rob. Hamilton
Kilbride Bennan	{ West Farm East ditto North do.	Ar. Ferguson Ad. Cook Dd. Wright
Shanochy	{ South Farm N.W. ditto N.E. ditto No. ditto	Jn. McCook John Kerr Wm. Jameson Jn. McKenzie
W. Bennan	{ S.W. Farm S.E. ditto N.W. ditto N.E. ditto North Do.	John Kerr Jn. McBridan Ths. Miller Rt. McKenzie Jn. McKenzie
East Bennan	{ S.W. Farm S.E. ditto N.E. ditto N.W. ditto Middle ditto }	Mr Stuart
Lepencorrach	{ W. Farm Middle Do. East ditto }	Ths. Taylor
Auchenhew	{ W. Farm Middle East ditto }	Hectr. McNeil
Marganish		Js. McCurdie
Ballimenocho	{ W. Farm Er. ditto North do.	Dd. McCurdie Pk. Hamilton Jn. McCurdie
Drumlabarrow	{ W. Farm Mid. do. East do.	Js. Jameson Al. Craufurd Al. McNiel
Do. Mill & Glebe		Pk. McAlister

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Dippin	{ West Farm Mid do. East ditto }	Dn. McKelvie and Jn. Bannatyne
Lergiebeg		Js. Hamilton
Lergiemenoeh	{ So. Farm } { No. ditto }	Wm. Stuart
Lergiemore & Asdle mill	}	Jn. Stuart
South Kiscadle	{ Under Farm } { Mid do. } { Upr. do. }	Hect. McAlister
Mid Kiscadle	{ So. Farm } { No. do. }	ditto
North do.		Axr. Stuart
Knokankelly	{ So. Farm } { No. do. }	D ^d Broun Ard. Hamilton
Auchencairn	{ Et. Farm } { Wt. ditto } { No. ditto }	Pk. McBride Dd Kennedy Wm. McMillar
King's Cross	{ W. Farm } { E. do. } { 2 E. do. } { No. do. }	Ard. Hamilton Jn. Hamilton Jn. McKinnon Dd. Black
Gortonalister		Fr. McBride
Cordon		
Monnymore	{ E. Farm } { W. Farm }	
Wauk mill	& 10 acres	Dad. Tory
Glenkill	{ S.W. Farm } { N.W. ditto } { Er. ditto }	Js. McBride Dd. McBride Mw. McBride
Pallaster	{ West Farm } { Et. ditto }	Alr. Hunter Jn. McKinzie

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Heigh Letter	{ West Farm East do.	D ^d . Nicoll D ^d . McKilvie
	{ N 1 2 3 4 5 6	Ax. Menicol
Laigh letter		
	Mill glebe	A. Menicol
	No. 9 & 10	A. Stuart
	11	Js. Adam
	12	Ths. Fortune
	13	Ax. Kerr
	14	Jo. Hamilton
	15	Jn. Henderson
	16	Wm. Fleming
Blairbeg	17 18 19 20 21 22-3 24. 25. 26	Jn. Hamilton Duncan Mathieson Ar. McAlister Ax. Mcmillan Wm. Miller R ^t . Mathew Dr. McBride
Kilbride mill		Aw. Stuart
White house & Parks.	{ Lot 1st No. Division 2 So. of Do. 3, prest house 4, Arranton Fore park	Capt. Mcpherson
Blairmore	{ W. Old Farm W. new do. E. Old do.	Mr Stuart
Margnahaglish		do.
W. Clauchlands	{ W. Farm Mid do. East do.	Js. McBride Jn. McBride Dr. McBride

Farms Names.	Number of Divisions made on each Farm.	New Tacksmen's Names.
Easter Clauchland	{ W. Farm Mid do. East do. }	D ^d . Fullarton Fergie do. Jn. Fullarton
Strathwellan	{ S.E. Farm N.W. farm }	D ^d Fullarton Mrs Kennedy
Maysh	{ East Farm Mid ditto West do. }	Hector Mcalister
Glencloy	{ So. Farm W. do. Mid do. East do. }	Do. Al. McBride Alln. Fullarton Pk. McBride
Mossend		
Glensharig	{ So. Farm Wr. do. East do. }	Js. Davie Jn. Fullarton Ch ^s . Broun
Glenrosie	{ So. Farm No. do. }	Peter Davie R ^t . Hendry
Glenshant	{ So. Farm } { No. do. }	Jn. Broun
Knockan	{ W. Farm } { East do. }	Adm. Fullarton
Brodict Mill		Ax. McGregor
Dykehead		Do.
Merkland		Do.
Cladoch Cottars		
Hance Bannatyne's Glebe		

APPENDIX C

POPULATION

Date.		Kilbride.	Kilmorie.	Total.
1755 (Dr. Webster)	.	1369	3277	4646
1793 (Stat. Acct.)	.	2545	3259	5804
1801 (Census)	.	2183	2996	5179
1811	.	2274	3430	5704
1821	.	2714	3827	6541
1831	.	2656	3771	6427
1841	.	2786	3455	6241
1851	.	2512	3414	5926
1861	.	2408 ¹	3148	5556
1871	.	2290	2778	5068
1881	.	2153	2580	4733
1891	.	2298	2482	4780
1901	.	2469	2297	4766
1911	.	2451	2177	4628

¹ Population in shipping, henceforth stated, not included here or subsequently.

APPENDIX D

NORSE PLACE-NAMES OF ARRAN, GROUPED UNDER THEIR OLD NORSE, *i.e.* ICELANDIC DERIVATIVES.

By ROBERT L. BREMNER, M.A., B.L.

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
Á = river (pronounced aw; in Mod. Icel., ow).	<i>lorsa.</i>	Blaeu's Map (pub. in Amsterdam, 1654; founded on Timothy Pont's description and representing name-sounds <i>circa</i> 1600). <i>Yersa</i>. Pen-nant (1772) <i>Jorsa</i>.	<i>Hjör-sá</i> = sword river (<i>Hjör-r</i>, gen. <i>hjarar</i> and <i>hjör-s</i>, sword). There is no <i>Hjör-sá</i> in Iceland; but there is a little is-land in the west, <i>Hjör-sey</i>, where lived Oddny, 'Isle-candle,' the maiden whom Björn the Hitdale champion loved and lost. Her father Thorkell was son of Dufgus the Rich, and therefore, like many Iceland settlers, had Celtic blood in his veins. A possible alternative is <i>Thjör-sá</i> = bull river (<i>þjör-r</i>, a bull), the name of a well-known river in South Iceland. Dr. Currie says there is a word <i>jör</i> which means a horse, and suggests 'horse-river.' This is a mistake. There is no such word. The word <i>jör</i> is used poetically for a stallion; but its geni-tive is not <i>jórs</i> but <i>jós</i>, and could not produce <i>lorsa</i>. It is not found in com-position with <i>á</i> in Ice-land.

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
<i>Dalr</i> = dale, glen.	Loch <i>Ranza</i> .	1433 <i>Lochrans-ay</i> . 1452 <i>Locherayn-say</i> . 1528 <i>Locharane-say</i> . 1549 (Monro) <i>Lochrenasy</i> . 1600 (Blaeu) <i>Ransa</i> and <i>Rensa</i> .	<i>Reynis-á</i> = rowan-tree river (<i>reynir</i> , gen. <i>reynis</i> , rowan-tree). Cf. <i>Reynisfjall</i> , <i>Reynisnes</i> , etc., in Iceland.
	Glen <i>Rosa</i> .	1450 Glen <i>Rossy</i> . 1600 (Blaeu) <i>Glen Rosy</i> .	<i>Hross-á</i> = horse river, (from <i>Hross</i> , a horse). Cf. <i>Hrossholt</i> , <i>Hrossavík</i> , etc., in Iceland.
	<i>Ashdale</i> .	Old form in Orig. Paroch., <i>Glenasdale</i> .	<i>Ask-dalr</i> or <i>Asks-dalr</i> = the glen of the ash-tree (<i>askr</i> , gen. <i>asks</i> , ash-tree). An alternative is <i>Fos-dalr</i> = the glen of the waterfall—the initial ‘f’ disappearing as it often does on the West coast; e.g. it is elided almost everywhere in <i>fförðr</i> , which is represented by <i>ort</i> , <i>art</i> , etc., as in <i>Snizort</i> , old form <i>Snesfurd</i> = <i>Sneisfjörðr</i> ; <i>Knoydart</i> = <i>Knutsfjörðr</i> , etc. <i>Ass-dalr</i> , the glen of one of the old gods (more commonly used in the plur. <i>Aesir</i>), or the glen of the rocky ridge (<i>áss</i>), are also possible but unlikely alternatives. <i>Glen</i> has as usual been added by the Gael when the meaning of <i>dalr</i> was forgotten.
	<i>Chalmadale</i> or <i>Halmadale</i> .	Blaeu, <i>Glen Challa-del</i> .	Prob. <i>Hjálmund-dalr</i> for <i>Hjálmundardalr</i> , i.e. <i>Hjálmund</i> ’s glen (<i>Hjálmundr</i> , gen. <i>Hjálmundar</i> , a proper name, whence <i>M’Calman</i> , <i>M’Calmont</i>). <i>Helmsdale</i> is <i>Hjálmundal</i> in the <i>Orkneyinga Saga</i> .

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
			The 'n' would readily be lost before the dental. The objection I have to the usual derivation from Kalman, also a proper name, is that the 's' of the genitive is never lost in composition where the name occurs in Iceland; e.g. Kalmansá, Kalman-sárvik, and, still more notably, Kalmanstunga. Blaeu's form, however, certainly suggests:—<i>Kol-ladalr</i> = Kolli's glen (Kolli, a proper name frequent in the Sagas, but possibly of Celtic origin). Cp. <i>Kollabúðir</i>, <i>Kollafjörðr</i>, etc., freq. in Iceland. The hard guttural would in Gaelic phonetics be softened to 'ch' after Glen.
	<i>Garvadale.</i>		<i>Garpadalr</i> (<i>garpr</i>. gen. pl. <i>garpa</i>) 'the warlike men's dale.'
	<i>Gargadale.</i>		(High up on the left bank of Slidderie Water, O.S. map).
	<i>Kiscadale.</i>	Blaeu, <i>Kiskidel</i> . Orig. Paroch., <i>Kiskedilis</i> .	<i>Kistudalr</i>, chest-glen or coffin-glen; or <i>kistugil</i>, chest-gully or coffin-gully (<i>kista</i>, gen. <i>kistu</i>, 'kist,' chest or coffin). The latter form is suggested because the easy metathesis of the guttural and dental would explain the loss of the second 'K' and also because we have a <i>Kistugil</i> in Iceland; as also <i>Kistufell</i> and <i>Kistugerði</i>.

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
	<i>Ormidale.</i>	1446-7 <i>Ormysdill</i> . 1450 <i>Ormadill</i> . 1590 <i>Glennormadell</i> .	<i>Ormsdalr</i> = Orm's glen or <i>Ormadalr</i> = snake-glen (<i>Ormr</i> , gen. <i>Orms</i> , a well-known proper name, really a nickname from <i>ormr</i> , a snake). Cp. <i>Ormsdalr</i> , etc., in Iceland. As the old spelling shows, the second syllable does not represent <i>d</i> , a river; 'snake-river-dale' would be <i>ormsdrdalr</i> .
	<i>Scorrodale.</i>	Blaeu, <i>Skoradel</i> .	<i>Skorradalr</i> = Skorri's glen (<i>Skorri</i> , gen. <i>Skorra</i> , a proper name). Cp. <i>Skorradalr</i> , <i>Skorradalsháls</i> , and <i>Skorradalsvatn</i> .
<i>Enni</i> = brow, precipice.	<i>Craig-na-hannie</i>		The crag of the precipice.
<i>Ey</i> = island.	<i>Pladda.</i>	1549 <i>Flada</i> . 1585 <i>Plada</i> . 1609 <i>Pladow</i> . Blaeu, <i>Pladda</i> .	<i>Flat-ey</i> = flat isle (<i>flatr</i> , fem. <i>flöt</i> , neut. <i>flatt</i> = flat). <i>Flat-ey</i> is a place-name, with many compounds, e.g. <i>Flat-eyardalr</i> , etc., in Iceland. It appears again and again among the <i>Sudreyar</i> or Hebrides; e.g. <i>Fladda</i> , <i>Bladda</i> , etc.
<i>Fell</i> = hill; <i>fjall</i> = mountain.	<i>Goatfell.</i>	Blaeu, <i>Keadefelt Hil</i> .	<i>Geita-fell</i> = goat hill or <i>Geita-fjall</i> = goat mountain (<i>geit</i> , gen. <i>geitar</i> , gen. pl. <i>geita</i> ; freq. in composition = goat). A wild species of small black goat still survives in Arran, now chiefly removed to Holy Isle. There is a <i>Geita-fjall</i> in Iceland; also <i>Geitavík</i> , <i>Geitaskarð</i> , etc. A few miles east of Reykjavík there is a place called <i>Geitháls</i> (pron. Gate-house), which is the obvious prototype of

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
			Gatehouse of Fleet. (<i>Flyjót</i> = swift stream.) According to Thomas and Macbain, <i>fell</i> and <i>fjall</i> are represented on the West Coast and especially the Outer Isles by -bhal, -mheall, -val, and even -hall, e.g. Ròinebhal, Stacashall, etc. It seems incredible, however, that Norsemen would have applied the word 'fjall' = mountain (which in Iceland they reserved for real mountains), even to the higher hills of the Forest of Harris. It is certainly out of the question that either 'fjall' or 'fell' could have been applied to tiny eminences of 200 or 300 feet like Blas-haval, Oreval, Skeal-traval, and Cringraval in North Uist. The name given to such small eminences in Iceland was and is '<i>hváll</i>,' i.e. a small rising ground, higher than a '<i>hóll</i>' or knoll; but less than a '<i>fell</i>.' In the present writer's opinion, '<i>hváll</i>' accounts for most if not all of the '-bhals' or '-vals,' as they are often spelled. The hill in South Uist, however, now called Ben More (1994 feet) and formerly known as Keit-val, is obviously = <i>Geita-fjall</i>, Goat-mountain.
For -lendi = land between sea and hills.	North Feor- line, South Feor- line. Whitefarland.	Orig. Paroch., <i>Twa</i> <i>furlangis</i> . Blaeu, <i>Forling</i> . 1356 <i>Quhitforland</i> .	For-lendi = the land between the sea and the hills. <i>Hvitt-forlendi</i> (<i>Hvitr</i> , fem. <i>hvít</i> , neut. <i>hvítt</i> ,

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
<i>Gil</i> = a ravine, gully.	<i>Catacol.</i>	1433 <i>Catagil.</i> 1452 <i>Cathaydill.</i> 1600 Blaeu, <i>Cattidel.</i>	white), often found in composition of Iceland place-names. <i>Katta-gil</i> = the wild cats' gully (<i>Köttr</i> , a cat, gen. <i>Kattar</i> , gen. pl. <i>Katta</i>). Cp. <i>Kattardalr</i> , <i>Kattarnef</i> , <i>Kattarhúfi</i> , in Iceland. So Capt. Thomas, 'Islay Place-Names' in <i>Proc. of Soc. of Antiq.</i> , vol. iv., New Series, 1881-82, p. 260. In favour of the <i>Kati</i> (= small ship) theory, there is a local legend that Magnus Berfaettr and his men came here in their ships to avenge an insult by Fionn.
	<i>Corrygills</i> or <i>Corriegills.</i>	1558 <i>Corriglis.</i> 1561 <i>Corregelleis.</i> 1590 <i>Corrigills.</i> 1600 Blaeu, <i>Corygil</i> and <i>Corigil.</i>	According to Professor Olsen this is quite clearly <i>korfu - gil</i> = raven - gully (<i>korfu</i> , gen. pl. <i>korfa</i> , a raven); cp. Modern Norwegian, <i>korv</i> ; Scottish, 'corbie,' a raven or crow (Orkney, etc.). So high an authority as the late Dr. Macbain regarded this as a hybrid, viz. Corrie (Gaelic, <i>coire</i>), a ravine, and <i>gil</i> , a ravine, i.e. two words of practically identical meaning. As we have seen, such redundancy is common enough where the Norse meaning has been lost, e.g. Glen Scorrodale, Ben Roinebhal, etc., etc. But this almost always occurs in compound words. Absolute duplications like Craignish (= creag nes) are extremely rare. I venture to suggest, however, as a possible

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
	<i>Scaftigil.</i>		alternative to Korfa-gil, <i>Káragil</i>, i.e. Kari's gil (<i>Kári</i>, a proper name, pron. Kawri, gen. <i>Kára</i>). Cp. <i>Káragerði</i>, <i>Káras-taðir</i>, <i>Kárvatn</i>, etc., etc., in Iceland. <i>Skaptagil</i> = shaft - gully or Skapti's gully (or Shaft-rivergully). (<i>Skapt</i>, gen. <i>Skapts</i>, gen. plur. <i>skapta</i> = a shaft, arrow; or <i>Skapti</i>, a proper name, derived from the foregoing; gen. <i>Skapta</i>; or <i>Skaptá</i>, gen. <i>Skaptár</i> = shaft-river). The last alternative seems at first sight the likeliest in sense, but in derivation the least likely, the difficulty being how the 'r' in Skapt-ár-gil should have been got rid of. In Iceland, however, the elimination has taken place—some of the derivatives of the <i>Skaptá</i>, e.g. <i>Skaptár-fell</i> being pronounced and now spelled <i>Skaptafell</i> (cp. <i>Shap-fell</i> in Westmoreland), while in others, e.g. <i>Skaptártunga</i>, <i>Skaptáróss</i>, and <i>Skaptár Jökull</i>, it has been retained.
<i>Klettr</i> = cliff.	<i>Cleiteadh Buidhe.</i>	(Two instances, one near Dougarie; the other near Kilmorie).	<i>Klettr</i> = cliff; plur. <i>Klettar</i> ; <i>buidhe</i> = Gaelic for yellow.
<i>Klettr</i> = cliff.	<i>Cleiteadh 'nan Sgarbh.</i>		<i>Skarfuklettar</i> = cormorant cliffs (<i>skarfr</i> , pl. <i>skarfar</i> , gen. pl. <i>skarfa</i> = cormorant. <i>Klettar</i> = cliffs). Gaelic has borrowed both words from

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
	<i>Cleiteadh Dubh.</i>		the Norsemen. Scarf is used for cormorant in Orkney and Shetland also. <i>Klettr</i> with Gaelic <i>dubh</i> = black, added. If the name were found with the adjective foremost, it might be <i>Djúp-klettar</i> = deep cliffs on the analogy of <i>Djúpfríðingar</i> , deep firths, and <i>Djúpi-dabr</i> , in Iceland.
<i>Kró</i> = a fold or pen.	<i>Craw.</i>		<i>Kró</i> = a small pen. Dr. Macbain says that <i>Cro</i> is used in Shetland for small enclosures that would be called Quoy in Orkney.
<i>Kví</i> = a sheep-fold.	<i>Cuithe.</i>		<i>Kví</i> , sheep-fold (in composition, <i>kvía</i> , pl. <i>kvíar</i>). Cp. Quoy freq. in Orkney and the Outer Isles.
	<i>Cuidhe Meadhonach</i> = mid-fold.		<i>Kví</i> = fold, with Gaelic <i>meadhonach</i> , added. The middle folds or the mid-fold. Capt. Thomas says that in Orkney 'quoy is a subsidiary enclosure to the principal farm, and is the only exception I know to the rule which governs Scandinavian names by being used as a substantive prefix.' Quoy, however, doubtless represents the form used in composition, viz. <i>Kvíá</i> , in 'Quoy-birstane,' etc., etc. There is a <i>Kvíar-míð</i> in Landnámabok.
<i>Penningr</i> = a penny, a variable fraction of	<i>Dippin'</i> or <i>Duppen.</i>	Orig. Paroch., <i>Dupennylandis.</i>	<i>Tví-penninga land</i> = two-penny land (<i>penningr</i> , plur. <i>penningar</i> ,

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
an <i>unga</i> or ounce of silver.			gen. pl. <i>penninga</i> = penny), a common rental-measure of lands and a sure sign of Norse occupation. There is <i>Un-ganab</i> in North Uist, and Pennylands abound on the West Coast. The word has been borrowed in Gaelic as <i>peighinn</i> .
	<i>Auchaleffen.</i>		<i>Achadh leath-Pheighinn</i> = the field of the half-penny land (from <i>penningr</i>).
	<i>Levenorrach.</i>	Blaeu, <i>Leffun</i> <i>Corkrach.</i>	<i>Leath pheighinn corrach</i> = the rough half-penny lands (from <i>penningr</i>).
	<i>Pien</i> (properly <i>Peighinn</i>).	Blaeu, <i>Pean.</i>	<i>Penningr.</i>
	<i>Benlister.</i>	Acc. to Dr. Cameron, = <i>Penal-ister.</i>	The penny-land of Alister, from <i>penningr</i> . It is near Lamlash, away from the Bens. (Henderson's <i>Norse Influence</i> , p. 204).
	<i>Penrioch</i> (properly <i>Penriach</i>).	Blaeu, <i>Penreoch.</i> Orig. Paroch., <i>Pen-nerivach.</i>	<i>Peighinn Riabhach</i> = the speckled pennylands (from <i>penningr</i>).
<i>Skrīða</i> = a landslip.	<i>Scriđen.</i>		<i>Skrīðan</i> = 'the landslip.' <i>Skrīða</i> , fem. (gen. <i>skriðu</i> , Gaelic <i>Sgrìodan</i>).
<i>Stakkr</i> = a stack (sometimes of hay, etc., but more commonly meaning an isolated steep rock).	<i>Allt na Stoc.</i>	Better — <i>Allt na Stac.</i>	<i>Stac</i> = Gaelic for precipice, from O.N. <i>Stakkr</i> (Macbain's <i>Etymological Dictionary</i>).
<i>Vík</i> = bay.	<i>Brodick.</i>	1391 <i>Brethwic.</i> 1446-7 <i>Braith-wick.</i> 1450 <i>Bradewik.</i>	<i>Breidavík</i> = Broad-bay (<i>breidr</i> = broad, fem. <i>breið</i> , in composition <i>breiða</i> . <i>Vík</i> = bay).

O.-N. Stem.	Modern Name.	Ancient Spellings.	Derivation and Meaning.
		1590 <i>Braidwick</i> . 1600 <i>Blaeu</i> , <i>Brodwick</i> . 1778 <i>Brodovick</i> .	There are at least four places called Breidavik in Iceland. Both parts of the name are extremely common in the composition of place-names.
	Sannox (properly <i>Sannaig</i>).	<i>Blaeu</i> , <i>Sennoc</i> .	<i>Sandvík</i> = Sand - bay (<i>Sandr</i> , in composition <i>Sand-</i> and <i>Sanda-</i> =sand, and <i>vik</i>). Cp. <i>Sandvík</i> , <i>Sandfell</i> , <i>Sandgil</i> , <i>Sandvatn</i> , etc., etc., in Iceland. <i>Sannaig</i> in Islay, Jura, and Knoydart.
	<i>Glen Shurig</i> .	1450 <i>Glenservaig</i> . 1590 <i>Glen Sherwik</i> .	Professor Olsen of Christiania suggests: <i>Hjard-vík</i> = herd bay (<i>hjört</i> , fem., herd). Cp. <i>Hjaltland</i> , now Shetland; Norweg. place-name <i>Hjard-kinn</i> (herd-slope), now pronounced with <i>Sh-</i> . NOTE.—The fact that the old sea-line at this part of Arran was considerably higher than at present makes it certain that a few centuries ago, at the inner end of Brodick Bay, there would be a distinct smaller bay indenting the land just where the Rosa and Shurig waters join.

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Parish Boundaries thus
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 by The Arran Society of Glasgow.

